















THE  
L I V E S  
OF  
PATRIOTS AND HEROES,  
DISTINGUISHED IN THE BATTLES FOR  
AMERICAN FREEDOM.

By JOHN S. JENKINS,  
AUTHOR OF "NEW CLERK'S ASSISTANT," "POLITICAL HISTORY  
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## P R E F A C E .

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The following pages scarcely require an introduction to the American reader. There are a thousand recollections garnered in his heart, which will prove far more eloquent in their commendation, than any language the writer could employ.

The biographical sketches here given, are designed to present the most prominent incidents in the lives of the distinguished patriots, to whose efforts, in the dark and perilous times of the Revolution, we owe the civil and religious blessings which we now enjoy. It is to their patience in adversity, their courage in the midst of danger, and their moderation in the hour of victory, that we are indebted for what we are, and what we are destined to become.

This debt of gratitude can never be repaid. But the citizens of the Union, and especially the rising generation, may do much to manifest their thankfulness, by treasuring in their minds the storied records of 1776. By continuing to cherish the memories of the gallant soldiers who fought so nobly and so well, they may, at least, convince the world, how deep and enduring are the monuments of affection, which they have reared in their hearts—how true it is, that while

‘ The living soon from earth are passed,  
The dead——endure *forever* !’

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# ETHAN ALLEN.

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*His Birth and Parentage.—His Education.—Early Development of his fearless and remarkable Character.—His active Agency in the Difficulties between the Green Mountain Boys and New York.—Appointed their Leader.—Large Reward offered for his Arrest by the Landholders.—Embarks in the Enterprise against Quebec.—Surprises Ticonderoga.—His Account of the Attack.—Takes Crown Point.—Ill advised Attack upon Montreal.—Taken Prisoner and sent to England.—English Cruelty to American Prisoners.—Exchanged.—His Return to Vermont, and sudden Death.—His Character.*

ETHAN ALLEN was born in the town of Salisbury, Connecticut. His parents emigrated to the state of Vermont while he was in his infancy, and he was consequently deprived of the advantages of an early education. He possessed, however, a strong, though uncultivated mind; he was cool and resolute in danger; prompt in forming a determination,

and fearless in its execution. Nurtured amid the wild scenes of his forest home, his spirit became deeply imbued with sentiments peculiar to such a condition; and, while yet a mere youth, he exhibited many striking indications of the fearlessness and intrepidity which distinguished his subsequent career.

In 1770, a difficulty arose between the Green Mountain Boys, as the first settlers of Vermont were called, and the government of New York, in which Allen bore a prominent part. His instinctive sense of right and love of justice, united to his natural boldness of character, induced him to take a decided stand in opposition to the proceedings of the colony of New York. He was selected by the inhabitants as their leader, and wrote several pamphlets, setting forth the injustice and oppression of which they had been the victims, and encouraging them to resist such treatment for the future. His unsparing denunciations alarmed the speculating landholders, whose rapacity had occasioned the disturbance, to such a degree, that they procured the passage of an act of outlawry against him; and a reward of five hundred

guineas was offered for his apprehension. It is not known that any very serious efforts were put forth to secure him, and if the attempt had been made, it is altogether probable that it would have terminated in a complete failure. The honest and hardy yeomanry of the country were, almost to a man, warmly enlisted in his favor; and if the signal of danger had once been given, a thousand stout hearts and strong hands would have been prompt to rescue and to defend him.

Shortly after the close of these disturbances, the smothered indignation of the colonists, at the repeated aggressions of the English government, burst out into an open flame. The bloodshed and devastation at Concord and Lexington, aroused the patriotism of the country to the highest pitch. Allen, who then held the rank of colonel in the militia, was among the first to feel its influence. The importance of securing the communication with Quebec, by way of the Lakes Champlain and George, in case hostilities were actually commenced, had long been understood; and as the object could

only be attained by a prompt and decisive movement, a plan was formed by Colonel Allen and several gentlemen in the colony of Connecticut, for the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, by surprise. The command of the expedition was entrusted to him, and, at the head of two hundred and thirty Green Mountain Boys, whom he had hastily collected and armed, without waiting for instructions from any constituted authority, he proceeded to Castleton. At this place he was joined by Colonel Arnold, who had been commissioned by the Massachusetts Committee of Safety, to raise a body of four hundred men for the purpose of accomplishing the same object. The force under Allen reached the lake opposite Ticonderoga, on the evening of the 9th of May, 1775. With great difficulty, a sufficient number of boats was procured to land eighty-three men near the garrison. A dispute here arose, between the two leaders, as to which should have precedence in the command. Both became highly exasperated. Arnold swore that he would lead the men, and enter the fort first; while Allen swore as pointedly that he should not.

The altercation was finally settled, by a sort of compromise. It was agreed that both should go in together; Allen on the right and Arnold on the left. The commandant of the post did not entertain the least suspicion of danger, and had become quite careless in maintaining the discipline of the garrison. Early on the morning of the 10th of May, he was surprised in bed, by Allen, Arnold, and a few of their followers, who had entered the fort, and made themselves masters of it, without losing a single man. The following account of this transaction, is given by Allen himself:

“The first systematical and bloody attempt at Lexington, to enslave America, thoroughly electrified my mind, and fully determined me to take a part with my country. And while I was wishing for an opportunity to signalize myself in its behalf, directions were privately sent to me from the then colony, now state, of Connecticut, to raise the Green Mountain Boys, and, if possible, with them to surprise and take the fortress of Ticonderoga. This enterprise I cheerfully undertook; and, after first guarding all the se-

veral passes that led thither, to cut off all intelligence between the garrison and the country, made a forced march from Bennington, and arrived at the lake, opposite Ticonderoga, on the evening of the 9th day of May, with two hundred and thirty valiant Green Mountain Boys; and it was with the utmost difficulty that I procured boats to cross the lake. However, I landed eighty-three men near the garrison, and sent the boats back for the rear guard, commanded by Colonel Seth Warner; but the day began to dawn, and I found myself necessitated to attack the fort before the rear could cross the lake, and, as it was viewed hazardous, I harangued the officers and soldiers in the manner following:

“ *Friends and Fellow Soldiers*:—You have, for a number of years past, been a scourge and a terror to arbitrary powers. Your valor has been famed abroad, and acknowledged, as appears by the advice and orders to me from the General Assembly of Connecticut, to surprise and take the garrison before us. I now propose to advance before you, and in person conduct you through



the wicket gate; for we must this morning either quit our pretensions to valor, or possess ourselves of this fortress in a few minutes; and inasmuch as it is a desperate attempt, which none but the bravest of men dare undertake, I do not urge it on any, contrary to his will. You that will undertake voluntarily, poise your firelocks.'

"The men being at this time drawn up in three ranks, each poised his firelock. I ordered them to face to the right, and, at the head of the centre file, marched them immediately to the wicket gate aforesaid, where I found a sentry posted, who instantly snapped his fusee at me. I ran immediately towards him, and he retreated through the covered way into the parade, within the garrison, gave a halloo, and ran under a bomb proof. My party, who followed me into the fort, I formed on the parade, in such a manner as to face the barracks, which faced each other. The garrison being asleep, except the sentries, we gave three huzzas, which greatly surprised them. One of the sentries made a pass at one of my officers, with a charged bayonet, and slightly wounded him. My

first thought was to kill him with my sword, but in an instant I altered the design and fury of the blow to a slight cut on the side of the head; upon which he dropped his gun and asked quarters, which I readily granted him, and demanded the place where the commanding officer slept. He showed me a pair of stairs in the front of the garrison, which led up to the second story in said barracks, to which I immediately repaired, and ordered the commander, Captain Delaplace, to come forth instantly, or I would sacrifice the whole garrison; at which time the captain came immediately to the door with his breeches in his hand, when I ordered him to deliver to me the fort instantly. He asked me by what authority I demanded it? I answered him, 'In the name of the great Jehovah, and the Continental Congress.' The authority of Congress being very little known at that time, he began to speak again; but I interrupted him, and with my drawn sword near his head, again demanded an immediate surrender of the garrison, with which he then complied, and ordered his men to be forthwith paraded without arms, as he had

given up the garrison. In the mean time, some of my officers had given orders, and, in consequence thereof, sundry of the barrack doors were beat down, and about one third of the garrison imprisoned, which consisted of said commander, a Lieutenant Feltham, a conductor of artillery, a gunner, two sergeants, and forty-four rank and file; about one hundred pieces of cannon, one thirteen inch mortar, and a number of swivels. This surprise was carried into execution in the gray of the morning, of the 10th of May, 1775. The sun seemed to rise that morning with a superior lustre; and Ticonderoga and its dependencies smiled on its conquerors, who tossed about the flowing bowl, and wished success to Congress, and the Liberty and Freedom of America. Happy it was for me, at that time, that the future pages of the book of fate, which afterwards unfolded a miserable scene of two years and eight months' imprisonment, were hid from my view."

The foregoing version of this affair is somewhat highly colored, but it is, in the main, undoubtedly authentic. Colonel Allen did

not act, however, under instructions from the General Assembly of Connecticut, although several individual members of that body were concerned in the expedition. Neither was his demand of the surrender of the fort, in point of fact, made in pursuance of any authority from the Continental Congress. Congress knew nothing about the matter, and its first meeting was held some hours after the transaction. They subsequently approved of the enterprise, and earnestly recommended it to the people of New York and Albany, to remove the captured cannon and stores to the south of Lake George, and to preserve them, in order that they might be returned, on the restoration of the former harmony between Great Britain and the colonies.

The party under the command of Allen and Arnold, proceeded from Ticonderoga to Crown Point, which was also taken without a struggle. In addition to this, they surprised Skenesborough, and a sloop of war, the only vessel belonging to the British navy on the lakes. The brilliant and successful termination of this expedition, secured to Colonel Allen a distinguished reputation for dar-

ing and intrepidity, and he soon became an active participator in the struggles of his countrymen to obtain their independence. In the fall of 1775, an expedition against Canada was fitted out by Congress, and placed under the command of General Schuyler, who subsequently returned to Albany on account of his ill health, and was succeeded by General Montgomery. Colonel Allen accompanied this expedition, and on several occasions entered into the Canadian territory for the purpose of discovering the state of feeling of the inhabitants, and persuading them to make common cause with the revolted colonists. After the capture of Fort Chamblee, and while the army were besieging Fort St. John, Colonel Allen was sent by General Montgomery, with a guard of eighty men, on a tour through the villages in the neighborhood. On his return, he was met by a Major Brown, who had been employed on a similar errand. A rash and hasty plan was formed between them, for the capture of Montreal. Allen was to cross the river with his party, and land on the island a little north of the city; while Brown was to pass over on the south

side, with a force of near two hundred men. Allen crossed the river in the night, but Brown was compelled to abandon his part of the enterprise and return to camp. Although the intelligence of this fact was communicated to Allen, in time for him to effect his escape, he refused to return, and rashly concluded to maintain his ground, at all hazards. His presence in the vicinity of the city with such an inferior force, was soon made known to General Carleton, the officer in command, who immediately attacked him with a large body of English, Canadians and Indians, amounting, in the whole, to several hundred men. Allen fearlessly kept his position, in spite of such fearful odds; but the loss of fifteen of his men, who were killed in the action, and the desertion of a still larger number, finally compelled him, though contrary to his inclinations, to surrender. He and his little party, now reduced to thirty-eight men, were made prisoners.

In the earlier stages of the Revolution, the British officers appeared to regard the Americans, solely as rebels, deserving the severest punishment, and not entitled to that kind

and gentle treatment usually shown to prisoners of war, in civilized countries. Hence, the captured Americans were subjected to innumerable hardships, and made the victims of the most barbarous and unsparing cruelty. Colonel Allen was immediately put in irons, which, he states in his narrative, were uncommonly heavy, and so fastened that he could not lie down otherwise than on his back. A simple chest was his seat by day, and his bed by night. Various threats and menaces were employed to intimidate him, but without effect. Finding these of no avail, the most flattering inducements were held out to him, to join the British service. Among other promises, was that of a high command in the army, and a large tract of the conquered country. His reply to this insulting proposition was, that he viewed their offer of conquered United States land, to be similar to that which the devil offered to Jesus Christ; to give him all the kingdoms of the world, if he would fall down and worship him, when, at the same time, the poor devil had not one foot of land upon earth.

Not long after his capture, Allen was sent



to England as a traitor, still loaded with irons. He arrived in that country in December, and was lodged for a short time in Pendennis Castle, near Falmouth. On the 8th day of January, 1776, he was put on board a frigate, and again conveyed to Halifax, by a circuitous route. Here he remained, closely confined in jail, from June to October, when he was removed to New York. While on board the frigate, a design on the part of the prisoners to kill the captain and seize the vessel, was frustrated through the generosity of Allen, who would not suffer a man to be injured who had treated him with kindness. He was kept at New York about a year and a half, sometimes imprisoned, and sometimes on parole. While there, he had an opportunity of observing the unparalleled inhumanity with which the American prisoners were treated. Many of the men died from cold and hunger. In one of the churches in which they were crowded, Colonel Allen saw seven lying dead at one time, and others biting pieces of chips, from hunger. A large number of prisoners were confined in the New York jail, where they were



starved to death by the keeper, Captain Cunningham, who was afterwards hung in England for perjury, and confessed on the gallows the death of between two and three thousand, by starvation, that he might sell their rations. This estimate corresponds with that made by Colonel Allen, who gives it as his opinion, that of the prisoners taken on Long Island, and at Fort Washington, near two thousand perished by hunger and cold, or in consequence of diseases occasioned by the impurity of their food, and their prisons.

On the 6th of January, 1778, Colonel Allen was exchanged for Colonel Campbell, who, with two hundred and seventy men, had been captured in the Bay of Boston, while sailing for the harbor, ignorant of the evacuation of the town by the British. After repairing to head quarters, and offering his services to General Washington, in the event of the restoration of his health, which had been greatly impaired during his long and tedious confinement, Colonel Allen returned to Vermont. He was received by his friends with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of

their deep interest in his welfare, and their constant and unvarying attachment to his person. His arrival was announced by the discharge of cannon, and there were various other exhibitions of the respect and esteem in which he was held by his fellow citizens. He was soon appointed to the command of the state militia, but never again called upon to test that daring courage of which he had given such undeniable proof. An attempt was made by the British to induce him to exert his influence in favor of uniting Vermont to Canada, but he spurned, as he had before done, all the tempting allurements of place and power. He died suddenly on his estate, February 13th, 1789, universally regretted and deplored.

There are many anecdotes related of Colonel Allen, illustrative of the manliness, the integrity, and the fearlessness and independence of mind, which were such prominent features in his character; but they are so marred with the unfortunate peculiarities of his conversation, that it seems unwise to repeat them here. Reared, as he was, in a wilderness, and entirely uneducated, it was

not strange that he should have adopted some singular notions in regard to religion. Although the contrary might very easily be inferred from his habits, and his manner of speaking, he was not really a corrupt man at heart. We have almost conclusive evidence of this, in the many ennobling traits of his disposition. He was a kind and generous friend, a sincere hater of oppression and wrong, an honest and incorruptible patriot, and a brave and fearless soldier.



# DANIEL BOONE.

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*Reflections upon the Indian Character and Barbarity.—Boone's Parentage and Birth.—His Emigration to Kentucky.—Captured by the Indians.—Murder of one of his Companions and Return of the others.—Description of the Country.—Visits his Family.—Removes permanently to Kentucky, in company with several other Families.—Attacked by the Indians and several Killed.—Encounters new Difficulties.—Another Fight with the Indians.—Captured by them.—Boonsborough taken.—Retreat to Detroit.—Return to Boonsborough and Battle with the Indians.—Their Treachery.—His Family again return to Kentucky.—Bloody Battle with the Indians and Canadians.—Peace with the Savages.—Colonel Boone's Death.*

AMONG the many instruments employed by the English Government, to force the American colonists into submission, none were more harsh, or merciless, than the savage tribes on the western frontier. Passionate and vindictive in disposition, wily and cun-

ning in entrapping an enemy, untiring and determined in the accomplishment of their designs, cold-blooded and relentless in the execution of the most horrid work of butchery, they were but the ready tools of a power which cared not what passion, or vice, or prejudice, was aroused, so that it could be made to minister to its aggrandizement. 'The tenderness of infancy, and helplessness of age, formed no protection against the hostile incursions of the Indian. 'The last rays of the setting sun fell, in all their warmth and beauty, on the little hamlet, smiling in contentment and peace; and a hundred hearts were there, filled with gratitude to God, and with affection and love for the absent ones, who had rallied around the standard of their country, to repel the invader. Morning came, and its genial beams were frozen, where they lingered on the broken hearth-stone, or amid the smoking embers which commingled with the ashes of so many helpless victims of rapine and oppression. All had perished. 'The innocence of youth, and the loveliness of womanhood, had only served to nerve the hand and steady the aim of the midnight assassin,

who had hastened from the scene of carnage and blood, to receive the gold of the Briton, in exchange for the curling tresses of the child, and the long, waving locks of its mother. Horrors like these, were of frequent occurrence during the war of the Revolution. Indeed, it would seem as if the British authorities were frequently actuated, in the employment of their Indian allies, by the desire of humbling the husband and father, through his fears for the safety of those who were bound to him by the tenderest of all human ties; for there is nothing that can strike such terror to the heart of man, as the thought of injury to the fond and trusting wife who clings to him through weal and through woe, or to the children who have been taught to look up to him for protection and support.

The frontiers of Pennsylvania, New York, and Virginia, were especially afflicted by the barbarities of savage warfare. An expedition against the Indians, was fitted out in the western settlements of Virginia, in the summer of 1778, which was placed under the command of Colonel George Rogers Clarke. At the head of a body of militia, he penetra-

ted to the British settlements on the Mississippi, and captured the town of Kaskaskias. The governor of the place was taken prisoner, and it appeared from the written instructions which were secured with him, that Colonel Hamilton, the governor of Detroit, was exceedingly active in planning and encouraging the incursions of the Indians into the United States. At Kaskaskias, Colonel Clarke was cut off from all support, in case of any sudden emergency, and was surrounded by some of the most numerous and hostile tribes on the continent. He at once determined on a bold plan of operations, and suddenly attacked the Indians in their villages, and completely routed and scattered them. In the winter of 1779, he attacked Colonel Hamilton himself, who was laying at St. Vincent with a small force, for the purpose of directing the movements of his Indian friends, and succeeded in capturing him and his whole party. The result of this enterprise disconcerted the whole of Hamilton's plans, and saved the western frontier from the cruelties which had been devised against it. Among the most efficient coadjutors of Clarke, in checking the



inroads of the cruel savage, was Colonel DANIEL BOONE, whose name figures more conspicuously than that of any other individual, in the annals of Indian warfare in the Mississippi Valley.

Colonel Boone was of English descent, and was born about the year 1730, near Bridgenorth, in Somersetshire. While he was still a mere youth, his parents emigrated to America, and settled in North Carolina, where he was bred to the profession of arms, and entered into the colonial service at an early age. He passed through all the inferior gradations, to the post of colonel, in which capacity he subsequently distinguished himself, after his removal to Kentucky, as one of the most active, zealous, and useful pioneers in the settlement of that territory. His campaigns with the Indians during a period of thirteen years, are often referred to in the history of the country. He has given a pithy and graphic account of his adventures, which is subjoined, as it is believed to furnish the most accurate information in regard to the subject, which can, at this time, be procured.

“ It was on the first of May, 1769,” says

the narrative of Colonel Boone, "that I resigned my domestic happiness, and left my family and peaceful habitation on the Yadkin river, in North Carolina, to wander through the wilderness of America, in quest of the country of Kentucky, in company with John Finley, John Stuart, Joseph Holden, James Morey, and William Cool. On the seventh of June, after travelling through a mountainous wilderness, in a western direction, we found ourselves on Red river, where John Finley had formerly been trading with the Indians; and from the top of an eminence, saw with pleasure the beautiful level of Kentucky. For some time we had experienced the most uncomfortable weather. We now encamped, made a shelter to defend us from the inclement season, and began to hunt and reconnoitre the country. We found abundance of wild beasts in this vast forest. The buffaloes were more numerous than cattle in other settlements, browsing upon the leaves of the cane, or cropping the herbage of these extensive plains. We saw hundreds in a drove, and the numbers about the salt springs were amazing. In this

forest, the habitation of beasts of every American kind, we hunted with success, until December.

“On the 22d of December, John Stuart and I had a pleasing ramble; but fortune changed the day at the close of it. We had passed through a great forest, in which stood myriads of trees; some gay with blossoms, others rich with fruits. Nature had here a series of wonders, and a fund of delights. Here she displayed her ingenuity and industry in a variety of flowers and fruits, beautifully colored, elegantly shaped, and charmingly flavored; and we were diverted with numberless animals, presenting themselves perpetually to our view. In the decline of the day, near the Kentucky river, as we descended the brow of a small hill, a number of Indians rushed out of a thick cane brake, and made us prisoners. They plundered us, and kept us in confinement seven days. During this time we discovered no uneasiness or desire to escape, which made them less suspicious; but in the dead of night, as we lay by a large fire in a thick cane brake, when sleep had locked up their senses, my situa-

tion not disposing me to rest, I gently awoke my companion. We seized this favorable opportunity and departed, directing our course towards our old camp; but found it plundered, and our companions dispersed or gone home. About this time, my brother, Squire Boone, with another adventurer, who came to explore the country shortly after us, was wandering through the forest, and accidentally found our camp. Notwithstanding our unfortunate circumstances, and our dangerous situation, surrounded by hostile savages, our meeting fortunately in the wilderness, gave us the most sensible satisfaction.

“Soon after this, my companion in captivity, John Stuart, was killed by the savages; and the man that came with my brother returned home by himself. We were then in a dangerous, helpless situation, exposed daily to perils and death, amongst savages and wild beasts, and not a white man in the country but ourselves. Thus, many hundred miles from our families, in the howling wilderness, we did not continue in a state of indolence, but hunted every day, and prepared a little cottage to protect us from the

winter storms. We met with no disturbance during the winter. On the first of May, 1770, my brother returned home by himself, for a new recruit of horses and ammunition, leaving me alone, without bread, salt, or sugar, or even a horse or dog. I passed a few days uncomfortably. The idea of a beloved wife and family, and their anxiety on my account, would have exposed me to melancholy, if I had further indulged the thought. One day I undertook a tour through the country, when the diversity and beauties of nature I met with in this charming season, expelled every gloomy thought. Just at the close of the day, the gentle gales ceased; a profound calm ensued; not a breath shook the tremulous leaf. I had gained the summit of a commanding ridge, and looking round with astonishment and delight, beheld the ample plains and beauteous tracts below. On one hand, the famous Ohio, rolling in silent dignity, and marking the western boundary of Kentucky with inconceivable grandeur. At a vast distance, I beheld the mountains lift their venerable brows and penetrate the clouds. All things were still. I kindled a fire near a

fountain of sweet water, and feasted on the loin of a buck, which a few hours before I had killed. The shades of night soon overspread the hemisphere, and the earth seemed to gasp after the hovering moisture. My excursion had fatigued my body, and amused my mind. I laid me down to sleep, and awoke not until the sun had chased away the night.

“I continued this tour, and in a few days explored a great part of the country, each day equally pleased as the first; after which I returned to my old camp, which had not been disturbed in my absence. I did not confine my lodging to it, but often reposed in thick cane brakes, to avoid the savages, who, I believed, often visited my camp, but fortunately during my absence. No populous city with all the varieties of commerce and stately structures, could afford so much pleasure to my mind as the beauties of nature I found in this country. Until the 27th of July, I spent the time in an uninterrupted scene of sylvan pleasures, when my brother, to my great felicity, met me, according to appointment, at our old camp. Soon after, we left the place,

and proceeded to Cumberland river, reconnoitring that part of the country, and giving names to the different rivers. In March, 1771, I returned home to my family, being determined to bring them, as soon as possible, at the risk of my life and fortune, to reside in Kentucky, which I esteemed a second paradise. On my return, I found my family in happy circumstances. I sold my farm at Yadkin, and what goods we could not carry with us; and on the 25th of September, 1773, we bade farewell to our friends, and proceeded on our journey to Kentucky, in company with five more families, and forty men, that joined us in Powell's valley, which is one hundred and fifty miles from the now settled parts of Kentucky; but this promising beginning was soon overcast with a cloud of adversity. On the 10th of October, the rear of our company was attacked by a number of Indians, who killed six, and wounded one man. Of these, my eldest son was one that fell in the action. Though we repulsed the enemy, yet this unhappy affair scattered our cattle, brought us into extreme difficulty, and so discouraged the whole company, that we



retreated forty miles, to Clench river. We had passed over two mountains, Powell's and Walden's, and were approaching Cumberland mountains, when this adverse fortune overtook us. These mountains are in the wilderness, in passing from the old settlements in Virginia to Kentucky, are ranged in a southwest and northeast direction, are of great length and breadth, and not far distant from each other. Over them, nature has formed passes, less difficult than might be expected from the view of such huge piles. The aspect of these cliffs is so wild and horrid, that it is impossible to behold them without terror. Until the 6th of June, 1774, I remained with my family on the Clench, when I and Michael Stoner were solicited by Governor Dunmore, of Virginia, to conduct a number of surveyors to the falls of Ohio. This was a tour of near eight hundred miles, and took us sixty-two days. On my return, Governor Dunmore gave me the command of three garrisons, during the campaign against the Shawanese. In March, 1775, at the solicitation of a number of gentlemen of North Carolina, I attended their treaty at



Wataga, with the Cherokee Indians, to purchase the lands on the south side of Kentucky river.

“After this, I undertook to mark out a road in the best passage from the settlements through the wilderness to Kentucky. Having collected a number of enterprising men, well armed, I soon began this work. We proceeded until we came within fifteen miles of where Boonsborough now stands, where the Indians attacked us, and killed two, and wounded two more. This was the 20th of March, 1775. Three days after they attacked us again; we had two killed and three wounded. After this, we proceeded on to Kentucky river, without opposition. On the first of April, we began to erect the fort of Boonsborough, at a salt lick, sixty yards from the river, on the south side. On the 4th, they killed one of our men. On the 14th of June, having finished the fort, I returned to my family on the Clench. Soon after, I removed my family to this fort. We arrived safe; my wife and daughters being the first white women that stood on the banks of the Kentucky river. December 24th, the Indians killed

one man and wounded another, seeming determined to persecute us for erecting this fort. July 14th, 1776, two of Colonel Calway's daughters and one of mine, were taken prisoners near the fort. I immediately pursued the Indians, with only eighteen men. On the 16th, I overtook them, killed two of them, and recovered the girls. The Indians had divided themselves into several parties, and attacked on the same day, all our settlements and forts, doing a great deal of mischief. The husbandman was shot dead in the field, and most of the cattle were destroyed. They continued their hostilities until the 15th of April, 1777, when a party of one hundred of them attacked Boonsborough, and killed one man and wounded four. July 4th, they attacked it again with two hundred men, and killed us one, and wounded two. They remained forty-eight hours, during which we killed seven of them. All the settlements were attacked at the same time. July 19th, Colonel Logan's fort was besieged by two hundred Indians. They did much mischief. There were only fifteen men in the fort; they killed two, and wounded four of them; In-

dians' loss unknown. July 25th, twenty-five men came from Carolina. About August 20th, Colonel Bowman arrived with one hundred men from Virginia. Now we began to strengthen, and had skirmishes with the Indians almost every day.

“The savages now learned the superiority of the *long knife*, as they call the Virginians; being outgeneraled in almost every battle. Our affairs began to wear a new aspect; the enemy did not now venture open war, but practiced secret mischief. January 1st, 1778, I went with thirty men to the Blue Licks, on Licking river, to make salt for the different garrisons. February 7th, hunting by myself, to procure meat for the company, I met a party of one hundred and two Indians, and two Frenchmen, marching against Boonsborough. They pursued and took me. The next day I capitulated for my men, knowing they could not escape. They were twenty-seven in number, three having gone home with salt. The Indians, according to the capitulation, used us generously. They carried us to Old Chillicothe, the principal Indian town on the Little Miami. On the

18th of February, we arrived there, after an uncomfortable journey, in very severe weather. On the 10th of March, I and ten of my men were conducted to Detroit. On the 30th, we arrived there, and were treated by Governor Hamilton, the British commander at that post, with great humanity. The Indians had such an affection for me, that they refused one hundred pounds sterling, offered them by the governor, if they would leave me with the others, on purpose that he might send me home on parole. Several English gentlemen there, sensible of my adverse fortune, and touched with sympathy, generously offered to supply my wants, which I declined with many thanks, adding, that I never expected it would be in my power to recompense such unmerited generosity. On the 10th of April, they brought me towards Old Chillicothe, where we arrived on the 25th day of the same month. This was a long and fatigueing march, through an exceedingly fertile country, remarkable for fine springs and streams of water. At Chillicothe I spent my time as comfortably as I could expect; was adopted, according to their custom, into

a family, where I became a son, and had a great share in the affections of my new parents, brothers, sisters and friends. I was exceedingly familiar and friendly with them, always appearing as cheerful and satisfied as possible, and they put great confidence in me. I often went a hunting with them, and frequently gained their applause for my activity. At our shooting matches, I was careful not to exceed many of them in shooting; for no people are more envious than they are there, in this sport. I could observe in their countenances and gestures the greatest expressions of joy when they exceeded me, and when the reverse happened, of envy. The Shawanese King took great notice of me, and treated me with profound respect and friendship, often entrusting me to hunt at my liberty. I frequently returned with the spoils of the woods, and as often presented some of what I had taken to him, expressive of my duty to my sovereign. My food and lodging was in common with them; not so good, indeed, as I could desire, but necessity made every thing acceptable. I now began to meditate an escape, but carefully avoided giving

suspicion. Until the 1st of June, I continued at Old Chillicothe, and then was taken to the Salt Springs on the Sciota, and kept there ten days, making salt. During this time I hunted with them, and found the land, for a great extent about this river, to exceed the soil of Kentucky, if possible, and remarkably well watered. On my return to Chillicothe, four hundred and fifty of the choicest Indian warriors were ready to march against Boonsborough, painted and armed in a dreadful manner. This alarmed me, and I determined to escape. On the 16th of June, before sunrise, I went off secretly, and reached Boonsborough on the 20th ; a journey of one hundred and sixty miles, during which I had only one meal.

“I found our fortress in a bad state ; but we immediately repaired our flanks, gates, and posterns, and formed double bastions, which we completed in ten days. One of my fellow prisoners, escaping after me, brought advice, that on account of my flight, the Indians had put off the expedition for three weeks. About August 1st, I set out with nineteen men, to surprise Point Creek

Town, on Sciota. Within four miles we fell in with thirty Indians going against Boonsborough. We fought, and the enemy gave way. We suffered no loss. The enemy had one killed and two wounded. We took three horses and all their baggage. The Indians having evacuated their town, and gone altogether against Boonsborough, we returned, passed them on the 6th day, and on the 7th arrived safe at Boonsborough. On the 8th, the Indian army, four hundred and forty-four in number, commanded by Captain Duquesne and eleven other Frenchmen, and their own chiefs, came and surrounded the fort. I requested two days' consideration, which they granted. During this, we brought in, through the posterns, all the horses and other cattle we could collect. On the 9th, in the evening, I informed their commander, that we were determined to defend the fort while a man was living. They then proposed a treaty, and said, if we sent out nine men to conclude it, they would withdraw. The treaty was held within sixty yards of the fort, as we suspected the savages. The articles were agreed to and signed; when the Indians



told us it was their custom for two Indians to shake hands with every white man, as an evidence of friendship. We agreed to this also. They immediately grappled us to take us prisoners; but we cleared ourselves of them, though surrounded by hundreds, and gained the fort safe, except one that was wounded by a heavy fire from their army. On this they began to undermine the fort, beginning at the water mark of Kentucky river, which is sixty yards from the fort. We discovered this by the water being made muddy with the clay, and countermined them by cutting a trench across their subterranean passage. The enemy discovering this, by the clay we threw out of the fort, desisted. On the 20th of August, they raised the siege. During this dreadful siege, we had two men killed and four wounded. We lost a number of cattle. We killed thirty-seven of the enemy, and wounded a great number. We picked up one hundred and twenty-five pounds of their bullets, besides what stuck in the logs of the fort. Soon after this, I went into the settlement, and nothing worthy of notice passed for some time.



“In July, 1779, during my absence, Colonel Bowman, with one hundred and sixty men, went against the Shawanese of Old Chillicothe. He arrived undiscovered; a battle ensued, which lasted till ten in the morning, when Colonel Bowman retreated thirty miles. The Indians collected all their strength and pursued him, when another engagement ensued for two hours, not to Colonel Bowman’s advantage. Colonel Harrod proposed to mount a number of horses, and break the enemy’s line, who at this time fought with remarkable fury. This desperate measure had a happy effect, and the savages fled on all sides. In these two battles, we had nine men killed and one wounded. The enemy’s loss was uncertain, only two scalps being taken.

“June 22d, 1780, about six hundred Indians and Canadians under Colonel Bird, attacked Riddle and Martin’s stations, and the forts of Licking river, with six pieces of artillery; they took all the inhabitants captive, and killed one man and two women, and loaded the others with the heavy baggage, and such as failed were tomahawked. The hostile disposition of the savages caused General

Clarke, the commandant at the falls of Ohio, to march with his regiment and the armed force of the country, against Peccaway, the principal town of the Shawanese, on a branch of the Great Miami, which he finished with great success, took seventeen scalps, and burned the town to ashes, with the loss of seventeen men.

“About this time, I returned to Kentucky with my family; for, during my captivity, my wife, thinking me killed by the Indians, had transported my family and goods, on horses, through the wilderness, amidst many dangers, to her father’s house in North Carolina. The history of my difficulties in going and returning, is too long to be inserted here.

“On the 6th of October, 1780, soon after my settling again at Boonsborough, I went with my brother to the Blue Licks; and, on our return, he was shot by a party of Indians; they followed me by the scent of a dog, which I shot and escaped. The severity of the winter caused great distress in Kentucky, the enemy during the summer having destroyed most of the corn. The inhabitants lived chiefly on buffalo’s flesh.

“In the spring of 1782, the Indians harassed us. In May, they killed one man at Ashton’s station, and took a negro. Captain Ashton pursued them with twenty-five men; and, in an engagement which lasted two hours, he was obliged to retreat, having eight killed and four mortally wounded. Their brave commander fell in the action. August 10th, two boys were carried off from Major Hoy’s station. Captain Holder pursued with seventeen men; they were also defeated and lost four killed, and one wounded. Our affairs became more and more alarming. The savages infested the country, killing men at every opportunity. In a field near Lexington, an Indian shot a man, and running to scalp him, was himself shot from the fort, and fell dead upon his enemy. All the Indian nations were now united against us.

“August 15th, five hundred Indians and Canadians came against Briant’s station, five miles from Lexington. They assaulted the fort and killed all the cattle round it; but being repulsed, they retired the third day, having about thirty killed; their wounded uncertain. The garrison had four killed and

three wounded. August 18th, Colonel Todd, Colonel Trigg, Major Harland and myself, speedily collected one hundred and seventy-six men, well armed, and pursued the savages. They had marched beyond the Blue Licks, to a remarkable bend of the main fork of the Licking river, about forty-three miles from Lexington, where we overtook them on the 19th. The savages observing us, gave way, and we, ignorant of their numbers, passed the river. When they saw our proceedings, having greatly the advantage in situation, they formed their line of battle from one bend of the Licking to the other, about a mile from the Blue Licks. The battle was exceedingly fierce for about fifteen minutes, when we, being overpowered by numbers, were obliged to retreat, with the loss of sixty-seven men, seven of whom were taken prisoners. The brave and much lamented Colonels Todd and Trigg, Major Harland, and my second son, were among the dead. We were afterwards told, that the Indians, on numbering their dead, finding that they had four more killed than we, four of our people that they had taken were given up to their

young warriors, to be put to death after their barbarous manner.

“On our retreat we were met by Colonel Logan, who was hastening to join us, with a number of well-armed men. This powerful assistance we wanted on the day of battle. The enemy said one more fire from us would have made them give way. I can not reflect upon this dreadful scene, but sorrow fills my heart. A zeal for the defence of their country led these heroes to the scene of action, though with a few men, to attack a powerful army of experienced warriors. When we gave way, they pursued us with the utmost eagerness, and in every quarter spread destruction. The river was difficult to cross, and many were killed in the flight; some just entering the river, some in the water, others after crossing, in ascending the cliffs. Some escaped on horseback; a few on foot; and, being dispersed every where, a few hours brought the melancholy news of the unfortunate battle to Lexington. Many widows were now made. The reader may guess what sorrow filled the hearts of

the inhabitants, exceeding any thing I am able to describe.

“Being reinforced, we returned to bury the dead, and found their bodies strewed every where, cut and mangled in a dreadful manner. This mournful scene exhibited a horror almost unparalleled; some torn and eaten by wild beasts; those in the river eaten by fish; all in such a putrefied condition that no one could be distinguished from another.

“When General Clarke, at the falls of Ohio, heard of our disaster, he ordered an expedition to pursue the savages. We overtook them within two miles of their towns, and we should have obtained a great victory had not some of them met us when about two hundred poles from their camp. The savages fled in the utmost disorder, and evacuated all their towns. We burned to ashes Old Chillicothe, Peccaway, New Chillicothe, Willstown and Chillicothe; entirely destroyed their corn and other fruits, and spread desolation through their country. We took seven prisoners and five scalps, and lost only four men; two of whom were accidentally killed by ourselves.

“This campaign dampened the enemy, yet they made secret incursions. In October, a party attacked Crab Orchard; and one of them, being a good way before the others, boldly entered a house, in which were only a woman and her children, and a negro man. The savage used no violence, but attempted to carry off the negro, who happily proved too strong for him, and threw him on the ground, and in the struggle the woman cut off his head with an axe, whilst her little daughter shut the door. The savages instantly came up, and applied their tomahawks to the door, when the mother, putting an old rusty gun barrel through a crevice, the savages went off.

“From that time until the happy return of peace between the United States and Great Britain, the Indians did us no mischief. Soon after the Indians desired a peace. Two darling sons and a brother, I have lost by savage hands, which have also taken forty valuable horses, and an abundance of cattle. Many dark and sleepless nights have I spent, separated from the cheerful society of men, scorched by summer's sun, and pinched by

the winter's cold, an instrument ordained to settle the wilderness. But now the scene is changed, and peace crowns the sylvan shade."

Colonel Boone lived much respected and beloved, to an advanced age, and died in the midst of a numerous posterity, for whom he had endured so many trials and hardships. His name is still held in grateful remembrance in the valley of the Mississippi, and his daring exploits form the themes of many a wild legend, and border tale.



# GEORGE CLINTON.

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*His Father Emigrates from Ireland and Settles in Orange County.—His Birth.—His Early and Valuable Services in the French War.—Completes the Study of the Law.—Election to the Colonial Legislature, and to Congress.—A Member of the latter when the Declaration of Independence was adopted, and a Zealous Advocate of the same.—Reason of the non-appearance of his name on that Instrument.—Elected first Governor of New York.—Appointed to an Important Command by Congress.—His Gallant Defence of Forts Montgomery and Clinton.—An account of the Engagement.—Declines the Election of Governor, on account of ill health, after having held the office Eighteen Years.—A Candidate for the office of Vice President.—Again Elected Governor.—Elected Vice President in 1805 and 1809.—His Death and Character.*

Few names figure more conspicuously in the history of the state of New York, than that of GEORGE CLINTON. His father was an emigrant from Ireland, and settled at an

early period in Little Britain, Orange county. He was much respected for his patriotism and private virtues; at one time officiated as a county judge, and was a colonel in the British army which invaded Canada during the French war. George was the youngest son, and was born on the 26th of July, 1739. He was bred to the profession of the law, but before the completion of his studies, he joined the expedition under General Amherst, and assisted in the reduction of Montreal. He particularly distinguished himself in this campaign by the capture, with four gun boats, after a severe engagement, of a French brig of eighteen guns.

After the termination of the war, he resumed his professional studies, and, on their completion, he was appointed clerk of the county of Ulster, by Sir Henry Clinton, the colonial governor of New York, to whom, it is said, he was distantly related. Notwithstanding this connection, he was one of the earliest friends of the American cause. He was repeatedly elected to the colonial legislature, and was generally regarded as the leader of the whig party in that body.

His talents and patriotism rendered him highly popular, and he was soon known as one of the most active and zealous patriots of the day. In 1775, he was returned as a member of Congress, and was present at the adoption of the Declaration of Independence on the 4th day of July, 1776. It is scarcely necessary to say, that that measure received his unqualified assent. His appointment as brigadier general of the militia of his native state, compelled him to vacate his seat before the Declaration was engrossed for signature, for which reason his name does not appear among the signers.

General Clinton busily occupied himself in the discharge of the duties appertaining to his station, and made every exertion in his power to further the glorious cause in which he had always manifested such a deep interest. A constitution having been adopted for the state of New York, in April, 1777, he was almost unanimously elected the first governor. In the same year he was appointed by Congress to the command of the posts in the Highlands. This duty was a most important and arduous one. General

Burgoyne was advancing from the north, at the head of a numerous and well appointed army, with the intention of effecting a junction with General Howe at Albany. The object of these movements was to cut off the New England states from the rest of the confederacy, and open a free communication between Canada and New York. The Americans were determined to prevent the British forces from obtaining the command of the river, and furnishing General Burgoyne with the supplies which he had informed Sir Henry Clinton it was necessary he should have, in order to save his army from destruction, or, as the only alternative, an unconditional surrender.

When the British ascended the river, Clinton assailed them from every prominent point. His gallant defence of Fort Montgomery with a handful of men, was highly honorable to his intrepidity and skill. We extract the following description of the attack on Forts Montgomery and Clinton from the American Biographical Dictionary :

“ When the British reinforcements, under General Robertson, amounting to nearly two

thousand men, arrived from Europe, Sir Henry Clinton used the greatest exertion, and availed himself of every favorable circumstance, to put these troops into immediate operation. Many were sent to suitable vessels, and united in the expedition, which consisted of about four thousand men, against the forts in the Highlands. Having made the necessary arrangements, he moved up the North River, and landed on the 4th of October at Tarrytown, purposely to impress General Putnam, under whose command a thousand continental troops had been left, with a belief, that his post at Peekskill was the object of attack. At eight o'clock at night, the general communicated the intelligence to Governor Clinton, of the arrival of the British, and at the same time expressed his opinion respecting their destination. The designs of Sir Henry were immediately perceived by the Governor, who prorogued the Assembly on the following day, and arrived that night at Fort Montgomery.

The British troops, in the meantime, were secretly conveyed across the river, and assaults on our forts were meditated to be

made on the 6th, which were accordingly put in execution, by attacking the American advanced party at Doodletown, about two miles and a half from Fort Montgomery. The Americans received the fire of the British, and retreated to Fort Clinton. The enemy then advanced to the west side of the mountain, in order to attack our troops in the rear. Governor Clinton immediately ordered out a detachment of one hundred men towards Doodletown, and another of sixty, with a brass field piece, to an eligible spot on another road. They were both soon attacked by the whole force of the enemy, and compelled to fall back. It has been remarked, that the talents, as well as the temper of a commander, are put to as severe a test in conducting a retreat, as in achieving a victory. The truth of this Governor Clinton experienced, when, with great bravery and the most perfect order, he retired till he reached the fort. He lost no time in placing his men in the best manner that circumstances would permit. His post, however, as well as Fort Clinton, in a few minutes were invaded on every side. In the

midst of this disheartening and appalling disaster, he was summoned, when the sun was only an hour high, to surrender in five minutes; but his gallant spirit refused to obey the call.

“In a short time after, the British made a general and most desperate attack on both posts, which was received by the Americans with undismayed courage and resistance. Officers and men, militia and continentals, all behaved alike brave. An incessant fire was kept up till dark, when our troops were overpowered by numbers, who forced the lines and redoubts at both posts. Many of the Americans fought their way out, others accidentally mixed with the enemy, and thus made their escape effectually; for, besides being favored by the night, they knew the various avenues in the mountains. The governor, and his brother, General James Clinton, who was wounded, were not taken.”

The whole number of American troops in the two forts at the time of the attack, was not far from six hundred. The force led by Colonel Campbell against Fort Montgomery

numbered nine hundred. Sir Henry Clinton, who commanded at the storming of Fort Clinton, had twelve hundred men with him. General Putnam had no suspicion of the real point of attack, till he heard the firing. He immediately despatched five hundred men to the assistance of the garrisons, but they arrived too late to render any effectual service, and were obliged to return to camp. The British had about one hundred and fifty men killed and wounded. Colonel Campbell, Major Sill, and other officers, were among the slain. The Americans lost three hundred men in killed, wounded, and prisoners.

Governor Clinton was continued in the office of chief magistrate of the state of New York, for eighteen years in succession, at which time he declined being a candidate for re-election, alleging, as his reasons for this course, that his private affairs, which had been much neglected during his employment in the public service, and the impaired state of his health, rendered it necessary for him to retire from office without delay. In 1797, Governor Clinton was the republican candi-



date for Vice President, but failed of securing his election.

After the declension of Governor Jay in 1800, Governor Clinton was again put in nomination for that office, and was elected by a large majority. In 1805, he was almost unanimously chosen Vice President of the United States, which office he continued to fill, having been re-elected in 1809, until the time of his death, which took place at Washington, on the 20th day of April, 1812. For a long series of years he had been recognized as the leader of the Republican party in New York. Their suffrages and influence, had elevated him to various places of trust and honor, and his death elicited a general and sincere expression of regret. "While he lived, his virtue, wisdom and valor, were the pride, the ornament, and security of his country, and when he died, he left an illustrious example of a well spent life, worthy of all imitation."



## HORATIO GATES.

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*His Birth and Education.—Enters the Army.—His rapid Promotion.—Offers his Services to the Colonies, and is appointed Adjutant-General.—Withdraws from the Northern Army.—Disasters of the American Army.—General Gates again ordered to take Command of the Northern Army.—Assumes the Command.—Severe Conflict between the Americans under Colonel Morgan, and the British under Philips and Reidesel.—Critical Situation of Burgoyne.—Battle between Burgoyne and Gates.—Surrender of Burgoyne.—Effect of the Capture of the British Army.—General Gates' and Conway's Intrigues against Washington.—Appointed to the Command of the Southern Army.—Defeated by General Cornwallis.—Superseded by General Greene.—Court Martialed and Acquitted.—Returns to his Farm in Virginia.—His Death.—His Character.*

GENERAL GATES was born in England, in the year 1728. He was educated for the military profession, and entered the British service, as a lieutenant, at an early age. He

was esteemed a faithful and competent officer, and soon rose to the rank of major, by regular promotion. At the capture of Martinique, during the French war, he acted as the aid of General Monckton. He was also one of the officers who accompanied the expedition under Braddock in 1755, against Fort Du Quesne, and was shot through the body. After the peace of Aix La Chapelle, he landed at Halifax, with the troops under the command of General Cornwallis.

He subsequently retired from the army and purchased an estate in Virginia, where he resided at the breaking out of hostilities in 1775. Having become warmly attached to his adopted country, he felt bound to offer his services in the time of danger. His sympathy with the colonies, and his established military reputation, united to procure him the office of adjutant general of the American army, which was tendered to him by the Continental Congress, and cordially accepted.

In July, 1775, he accompanied the commander-in-chief, General Washington, to the American camp at Cambridge, where he was

assiduously employed in the discharge of his official duties. He was afterwards transferred to the army in Canada, and was associated with General Schuyler in the defence of the northern frontier. A dispute having arisen between these officers, in regard to their respective priority in the command, the matter was represented to Congress, who recommended them to co-operate harmoniously together. General Schuyler was shortly after directed to resume the command of the northern department; whereupon General Gates withdrew himself from it. He then repaired to head-quarters, with a portion of the army of Canada, and united with the forces under General Washington, in the month of September, 1776.

The disastrous termination of the campaign in Canada, and the unfortunate condition of the troops under the command of General Schuyler, excited the most fearful apprehensions for the safety of the frontier. The British ministry had resolved to prosecute the war with the utmost vigor, and General Burgoyne, who had served during the preceding campaign under General Carleton, in

the winter of 1777, was appointed to the command of the army destined for the invasion of New York. That officer had visited England, and concerted his plans with the ministry, who had furnished him with all the men and the *materiel* necessary for their execution. Besides a large train of artillery and a corps of artillerymen, more than seven thousand veteran troops, finely equipped, and in a high state of discipline, were placed under his orders. In addition to this force, he had a great number of Canadians and savages. He was also assisted by several of the most distinguished officers in the service, among whom were Generals Philips, Frazer, Powel, Hamilton, Reidesel, and Specht; and a naval force under Commodore Lutwych, attended the expedition.

After detaching Colonel St. Leger, with a body of light troops and Indians, amounting to about eight hundred men, by the way of Lake Ontario and the Mohawk river, to make a diversion in that quarter, and join the grand army on the Hudson, General Burgoyne left St. John's on the 16th of June,

1777, with the main body of his force, sailed up Lake Champlain, and arrived at Crown Point much earlier in the season than the Americans had anticipated. On the 30th he advanced cautiously on both sides of the channel separating the two lakes; and on the 1st of July his van appeared in sight of Fort Ticonderoga. This important post was commanded by General St. Clair, in the absence of General Schuyler, who had proceeded to Albany for the purpose of expediting the supplies and reinforcements which he deemed necessary in order to check the advance of Burgoyne.

An ineffectual attempt was made by General St. Clair to maintain his position, but as the enemy had taken possession of Sugar Hill, which commanded the fort, and were already mounting guns on it, a council of war was held, at which it was unanimously determined to evacuate the post. Accordingly orders were immediately issued, and the American forces left the fort on the night between the 5th and 6th of July. Such was the rapidity of their movements that they reached Castleton, thirty miles

from Ticonderoga, on the night succeeding the abandonment of the fort. After a fatiguing march through the woods, General St. Clair joined General Schuyler, at Fort Edward, on the 12th of July. A portion of his troops, forming the rear guard under Colonel Warner, were attacked on the 7th, by General Frazer, and completely routed. The Americans lost in this action three hundred and twenty-four men killed, wounded, and prisoners; the loss of the enemy was one hundred and eighty-three killed and wounded. These decisive advantages gave General Burgoyne the undisputed command of the whole country in the vicinity of the Lakes, and compelled the Americans to retire behind the Hudson.

When the intelligence of these repeated disasters reached Congress, that body directed a recall of all the generals of the department, and an inquiry into their conduct. General Gates was again directed to assume the command of the northern army, and arrived at the confluence of the Mohawk and Hudson, where General Schuyler had established himself, on the 19th of August.



General Schuyler had taken every precaution, in the meantime, to repair the losses consequent on the evacuation of Ticonderoga, and to impede the progress of the enemy. The navigation of Wood Creek, above Fort Ann, was obstructed; bridges were broken down, trees were felled across the roads, and all the horses, cattle, ammunition and stores, were brought out of the way of the royal army.

General Burgoyne soon prepared to advance to the Hudson. On proceeding up Wood Creek, he was obliged to remove the impediments and obstructions placed there by the orders of General Schuyler, and to restore the roads and bridges which had been destroyed. Above forty bridges were constructed and repaired, one of which, entirely of log-work, was over a morass two miles wide. This prodigious labor was performed in a sultry season of the year, and in a country swarming with insects.

The failure of the attempts made by Burgoyne to capture the stores at Bennington, which was prevented by the brave Stark and his gallant followers, had, in some

degree, restored public confidence; and the intelligence soon after received, of the disastrous encounters of St. Leger's division with the militia under General Herkimer, and their rapid retreat from Fort Schuyler to Montreal, produced a most favorable turn in the prospects of the campaign.

At this critical period in the condition of the northern army, when every thing was combining to pave the way for the glorious victory which ensued, General Gates arrived in the camp, and assumed the command. General Schuyler keenly felt the injustice which was done him, by allowing another to reap the fruits of his labors, but he continued faithfully to obey the orders of General Gates, until the surrender of Burgoyne terminated the contest.

On the 30th of August, the British General addressed a letter to General Gates, complaining of the harsh treatment experienced by the loyalists who had been made prisoners at Bennington, and hinted at retaliation. The American commander answered the letter, and pointed to the atrocities perpetrated by the Indians under Burgoyne

and St. Leger, as furnishing a justification for any severity which had been exercised. In reference to one barbarous act, which had roused the indignation of the people on the frontier, Gates said :

“ That the savages of America should, in their warfare, mangle and scalp the unhappy prisoners who fall into their hands, is neither new nor extraordinary ; but that the famous Lieutenant General Burgoyne, in whom the fine gentleman is united with the soldier and scholar, should hire the savages of America to scalp Europeans, and descendants of Europeans ; nay more, that he should pay a price for each scalp so barbarously taken, is more than will be believed in Europe, until authenticated facts shall, in every gazette, confirm the truth of the horrid tale.

“ Miss McCrea, a young lady lovely to the sight, of virtuous character and amiable disposition, engaged to an officer of your army, was, with other women and children, taken out of a house near Fort Edward, carried into the woods, and then scalped and mangled in a most shocking manner. Two parents with their six children, were all treated with

the same inhumanity, while quietly residing in their once happy and peaceful dwelling. The miserable fate of Miss McCrea was particularly aggravated by her being dressed to meet her promised husband ; but she met her murderer employed by you. Upwards of one hundred men, women and children have perished by the hands of the ruffians, to whom, it is asserted, you have paid the price of blood ! ”

Having by the most tedious and toilsome exertions, procured a supply of provisions for thirty days, and constructed a bridge of boats, General Burgoyne crossed the Hudson river on the 13th and 14th of September, and encamped on the heights and plains of Saratoga, twenty miles below Fort Edward, and thirty-seven above Albany.

General Gates, who had been joined by all the continental forces destined for the northern department, and received large reinforcements of militia, left his position, and proceeded sixteen miles up the river, in the direction of the enemy, and formed a strong camp near Stillwater. On the evening of the 17th, after considerable skirmishing with the

light troops of his opponent, General Burgoyne encamped within four miles of the American army, and spent the next day in repairing the roads and bridges, which was attended with some loss. About noon, on the 19th of September, he put himself at the head of his right wing, and advanced through the woods to attack the Americans on their left. General Frazer and Colonel Brehman, with the grenadiers and light infantry, covered his right flank; and the Indians, loyalists and Canadians, proceeded in front; at the same time, the left wing and artillery, commanded by Generals Philips and Reidesel, pursued their march along the great road near the river.

The movements of the enemy were soon made known to General Gates, and Colonel Morgan was detached, with his riflemen, to observe their motions and impede their progress. This gallant officer met the advanced parties in front of the British right wing, and drove them back. General Burgoyne ordered a strong detachment to their support, and after a severe and bloody conflict, Morgan was compelled, in turn, to give way. He

was at once reinforced, and the action became more general, continuing for three hours almost without intermission. A constant blaze of fire was kept up on both sides, and each party was alternately driven by the other. The British artillery, a portion of which was brought up by General Philips, through the woods, fell into the possession of the Americans at every charge, but so sudden were the changes in their position, that they could neither turn the pieces upon the enemy, nor bring them off.

Notwithstanding the severity of the conflict, such was the order preserved, and the resolute bravery of the American troops, that the wounded men, after having their wounds dressed, in many instances returned with renewed courage to their positions in the ranks. Several of the American riflemen placed themselves on high trees, and as often as they could distinguish an officer's uniform, took deliberate aim at his person. The British tried the bayonet repeatedly, but not with their usual success. Between three and four in the afternoon, General Arnold, with nine continental regiments, and Morgan's ri-

flemen, was closely engaged with the whole right wing of the British army. Both parties fought with determined courage, and were only separated by the darkness of the night. The Americans withdrew to their camp, and the British troops lay on their arms on the field of battle.

In this engagement, the loss of the British was upwards of five hundred, in killed and wounded. The Americans lost three hundred and nineteen, including the killed, wounded and missing. General Arnold and Colonel Morgan distinguished themselves by their gallant bearing on this occasion. They repeatedly exposed their persons to the hottest fire of the enemy, and were seen in the thickest of the fight, urging and cheering on their brave followers. Lieutenant Colonel Brooks, with the 8th Massachusetts regiment, remained on the field until eleven o'clock, and was the last to retire. Major Hull commanded a detachment of three hundred men, who fought with such bravery that more than half of them were killed. The loss of the enemy was in some instances still more severe. Thirty-six out of forty-eight artillery-



rists were either killed or wounded, and the 62d regiment, which was five hundred strong when it left Canada, was reduced to sixty men, and four or five officers.

Each party claimed the victory, and each believed it had vanquished the whole force of the enemy with only a part of their own strength. Although the Americans retired to their camp, in the immediate vicinity, rather as a matter of convenience than of necessity, the substantial advantages of the battle were with them. The number of the combatants were nearly equal, there being about three thousand men actually engaged on each side. The result of the conflict encouraged the hopes of the timid and wavering every where, and additional forces kept pouring in to the camp of General Gates.

On the day after the engagement, the news arrived in camp, that a detachment of five hundred men, under Colonel Brown, who had been sent on this service by General Lincoln, at this time engaged in collecting the militia of New England, had taken Sugar Hill and Mount Hope, an armed sloop, several gun boats, and two hundred boats



which had been employed on the lakes in transporting provisions for the British army, and had relieved one hundred American prisoners, and captured three hundred of the enemy. This threatening movement in his rear, compelled Burgoyne to make a bold and decided push for the termination of the campaign. He immediately took a position almost within canon shot of the American camp, fortified his right, and extended his left along the hills. Information of his situation was communicated to Generals Howe and Clinton, and prompt assistance was requested. These officers, however, entertained no suspicion of danger, and were not able to render any efficient aid. The attack on Forts Clinton and Montgomery, although successful, availed him nothing.

The two armies lay in front of each other for several days; each engaged in fortifying its camp. Burgoyne's provisions were daily diminishing, and his Indian allies having become dissatisfied with the unfavorable aspect of affairs, abandoned him to his fate. Had he retreated immediately after the battle at Stillwater, his army might have been

saved ; but he neglected the favorable opportunity, and suffered himself to be enveloped in the toils which General Gates was preparing for his capture.

Towards the close of September, General Lincoln arrived in the American camp with a reinforcement of near two thousand men. General Gates remained on his old ground, and contented himself with watching the movements of the enemy, and accustoming his troops in their daily skirmishes, to the scenes of the battle field. He was sensible that every moment's delay increased his own strength, and weakened that of the opposing force. Burgoyne's situation became more and more embarrassing. He was so environed by the forces under the command of General Gates, that he could procure no fresh supplies ; his men were already placed on short allowances ; his horses were perishing for want of forage, and he had received no recent intelligence from Sir Henry Clinton. In this dilemma, he resolved to risk the fortune of another battle, as a victory was the only alternative to a surrender. Accordingly, on the 7th of October, he led out

one thousand five hundred men, well provided with artillery, and accompanied by Generals Philips, Reidesel and Frazer. His detachment had scarcely formed, within half a mile of the American entrenchments, when it was furiously attacked on the left by the rifle corps under Colonel Morgan, and an obstinate and protracted engagement ensued. The particulars of the battle are given by a writer in *Thatcher's Military Journal*, from the statements of eye witnesses, as follows :

“I am fortunate enough to obtain from our officers, a particular account of the glorious event of the 7th instant. The advanced parties of the two armies came into contact about three o'clock on Tuesday afternoon, and immediately displayed their hostile attitude. The Americans soon approached the royal army, and each party, in defiance, awaited the deadly blow. The gallant Colonel Morgan, at the head of his famous rifle corps, and Major Dearborn, leading a detachment of infantry, commenced the action, and rushed courageously on the British grenadiers, commanded by Major Ackland; and the furious attack was most firmly resisted.

In all parts of the field, the conflict became extremely arduous and obstinate; an unconquerable spirit on each side disdaining to yield the palm of victory. Death appeared to have lost his terrors; breaches in the ranks were no sooner made than supplied by fresh combatants, awaiting a similar fate.

“At length the Americans press forward with renewed strength and ardor, and compel the whole British line, commanded by Burgoyne himself, to yield to their deadly fire, and they retreat in disorder. The German troops remain firmly posted at their lines. These were now boldly assaulted by Brigadier General Learned, and Lieutenant Colonel Brooks, at the head of their respective commands, with such intrepidity, that the works were carried, and their brave commander, Lieutenant Colonel Brehman, was slain. The Germans were pursued to their encampment, which, with all the equipage of the brigade, fell into our hands. Colonel Cilley, of General Poor’s brigade, having acquitted himself honorably, was seen astride on a brass field piece, exulting in the capture. Major Hull, of the Massachusetts line, was

among those who so bravely stormed the enemy's entrenchment, and acted a conspicuous part.

“General Arnold, in consequence of a serious misunderstanding with General Gates, was not vested with any command, by which he was exceedingly chagrined and irritated. He entered the field, however, and his conduct was marked with intemperate rashness; flourishing his sword, and animating the troops, he struck an officer on the head without cause, and gave him a considerable wound. He exposed himself to every danger, and, with a small party of riflemen, rushed into the rear of the enemy, where he received a ball which fractured his leg, and his horse was killed under him. Night-fall put a stop to our brilliant career, though the victory was most decisive; and it is with pride and exultation that we recount the triumph of American bravery. Besides Lieutenant Colonel Brehman slain, General Frazer, one of the most valuable officers in the British service, was mortally wounded, and survived but a few hours. Frazer was the soul of the British army, and was just chan-

ging the disposition of a part of the troops, to repel a strong impression which the Americans had made, and were still making, on the British right, when Morgan called together two or three of his best marksmen, and pointing to Frazer, said: 'Do you see that gallant officer?—that is General Frazer; I respect and honor him; but it is necessary he should die.' This was enough. Frazer immediately received his mortal wound, and was carried off the field.

“Sir Francis Clark, aid-de-camp to General Burgoyne, was brought into our camp with a mortal wound, and Major Ackland, who commanded the British grenadiers, was wounded through both legs, and is our prisoner. Several other officers, and about two hundred privates, are prisoners in our hands, with nine pieces of cannon and a considerable supply of amunition, which was much wanted for our troops. The loss on our side is supposed not to exceed thirty killed, and one hundred wounded, in obtaining this signal victory.”

Darkness put an end to this bloody engagement. The Americans lay all night

upon their arms, about half a mile from the lines, with the intention of renewing the attack in the morning. About midnight, General Lincoln marched with his division to relieve the troops who had been engaged, and occupy the ground they had won. General Burgoyne became alarmed for his safety, and in the course of the night, silently, and without interruption from the enemy, moved his camp to the hills, extending his right up the river.

This change of front relieved him from all immediate danger. On the 8th he made some ineffectual attempts to provoke General Gates to attack him in his strong position, but the latter prudently declined so unequal a contest, and employed himself in taking every precaution to prevent the escape of the opposing force. He posted one thousand four hundred men on the heights opposite the ford of Saratoga, and sent detachments to the other fords higher up the river. A brisk cannonading was kept up during the 8th, and considerable skirmishing took place.

In the evening, General Burgoyne was informed that an American column, probably



the detachment sent by General Gates to guard the fords, was advancing with the intention of gaining his right flank, and he at once resolved to retreat to Saratoga, about ten miles up the river. He commenced his march about nine o'clock, leaving behind him several boats loaded with provisions and baggage, his hospital, and about three hundred sick and wounded men, towards whom General Gates exhibited his usual humanity. The roads were rendered so bad, by the heavy rain which was falling, that the British army did not reach Saratoga until the evening of the 9th of October, and on the morning of the 10th, much fatigued, they passed the fords of Fishkill creek, a little farther north. On reaching the place of his destination, General Burgoyne found a small body of the enemy already in possession of the ground, who retreated as soon as he approached.

As soon as the rain had ceased, General Gates set out in pursuit of the enemy, with the main body of the forces under his command, but as the roads were in a most wretched condition, and the British had de-



stroyed the bridges, it was some time before he overtook them. Immediately on his arrival at the camp above Fishkill creek, General Burgoyne had sent forward a company of artificers, escorted by a force of several hundred men, to repair the roads and bridges leading to Fort Edward ; but the sagacity of General Gates had provided against this contingency, and the party was forced to return, without having accomplished any thing. As the roads and bridges could not be repaired, it was found impossible to proceed with the baggage and artillery.

General Burgoyne then called a council of war, at which the desperate resolution was adopted of abandoning their baggage, artillery and stores, and with their arms and such provisions as they could carry on their backs, marching in the night to Fort Edward, and forcing their way to Fort George. But the keen foresight of Gates had closed even this last avenue of escape. The American forces lined the whole eastern bank of the river. General Gates had under his command nine thousand continentals, and four thousand militia. Parties of them were advanced be-

tween the British army and Fort Edward; and entrenchments, provided with artillery, had been thrown up on the high grounds between Fort Edward and Fort George. The detachments on the eastern bank of the river were especially annoying to General Burgoyne, who was obliged to land his provisions, and carry them to camp, up a steep hill, exposed to their galling fire.

In these helpless circumstances, General Burgoyne again called his council together, and by the unanimous advice of its members, he opened a correspondence with General Gates on the 13th of October, which was followed by the surrender of his whole force on the 16th instant. By the terms of the capitulation, it was stipulated that the troops under General Burgoyne should next day march out of their camp, with the honors of war, and the artillery of the entrenchments, and pile their arms at the verge of the river; that a free passage should be granted them to Great Britain, on condition of not serving in North America during the war, unless exchanged; and that they should embark at Boston. On the 17th, the British troops piled

their arms according to the capitulation. The prize obtained, consisted of near six thousand prisoners, forty-two pieces of brass ordnance, seven thousand muskets, clothing for seven thousand men, and a great quantity of tents, and other military stores.

General Burgoyne was received by his successful antagonist, with every mark of kindness and respect. General Wilkinson, in his account of the affair, says: "General Gates, advised of Burgoyne's approach, met him at the head of his camp; Burgoyne in a rich, royal uniform, and Gates in a plain blue frock. When they had approached nearly within sword's length, they reined up and halted. I then named the gentlemen, and General Burgoyne, raising his hat most gracefully, said: 'The fortune of war, General Gates, has made me your prisoner;' to which the conqueror, returning a courtly salute, promptly replied, 'I shall always bear testimony that it has not been through any fault of your excellency.'"

The surrender of the army of General Burgoyne, was one of the most important events which transpired during the progress

of the war. It taught the British ministry, that they were contending with an enemy whom it was madness to despise, and opened the way for the treaty of alliance which was afterwards concluded with France. The American people were in an ecstasy of joy. The name of the hero of Saratoga was on every tongue, and coupled with every expression of gratitude and admiration. The thanks of Congress were voted to General Gates and his army; and a medal of gold, in commemoration of this great event, was ordered to be struck, to be presented to him by the president, in the name of the United States.

The adulation paid to General Gates, on account of his brilliant success in command of the northern army, enkindled his ambitious aspirations, and so far unbalanced his mind, that he gave countenance to the attempt, which was soon after made, to remove General Washington, and substitute himself as commander-in-chief. The principal actors in this scheme were General Conway, a brigadier general in the army, and a few other fiery and restless spirits, who were not

satisfied with the slow and cautious movements of Washington. General Conway made the vilest insinuations and assertions in the public newspapers, and in private conversation, relative to the incapacity of Washington to conduct the operations of the army. These attacks received countenance from several members of Congress, who were induced to avow their want of confidence in the commander-in-chief; and the matter soon assumed a most threatening aspect. Conway held a correspondence with General Gates on the subject, and, in one of his letters, made use of this expression: "Heaven has been determined to save your country, or a weak general, and bad counsellors would have ruined it." All the circumstances connected with this movement, were speedily communicated to Washington himself, and were soon after made public. General Gates, on finding that the particulars of the correspondence had been made known, addressed a note to the commander-in-chief, requesting him to disclose the name of his informant. General Washington at once gave the desired information, and mentioned

the circumstances under which the affair had been brought to light. Gates then attempted to excuse the matter away, but refused to produce the original letters of Conway. The result of this controversy, while it increased the attachment of the American people for the good and great Washington, excited a deep feeling of regret that Gates should have sullied his fair fame by conduct so palpably unjust and ungenerous; and it is said, that he afterwards expressed his sincere regret at the occurrence.

In 1779, General Gates was attached, during most of the campaign, to the army under the immediate command of Washington. After the return of the British troops under General Grey, who had been sent in September, on an expedition against Bedford, Fairhaven, and Martha's Vineyard, General Washington broke up his encampment at White Plains, and proceeded north, to Fredericksburg, at the same time detaching Generals Gates and McDougall to Danbury in Connecticut, to watch the movements of the enemy, and act as circumstances might require.

General Gates was subsequently employed on various duties, generally under the commander-in-chief, until the 13th of June, 1780, when he was appointed to the chief command of the army of the south. The unhappy condition of things in the southern states had for a long time attracted the attention of Congress. Lord Cornwallis had completely overrun the country, and scattered terror and dismay wherever he had moved. The American force in that quarter was small, but early in the spring, Washington had reinforced it with the Maryland and Delaware troops, and a regiment of artillery, under the Baron De Kalb, a veteran German officer, who had early entered the American service.

The appointment of Gates to the command gave general satisfaction, and the most sanguine expectations of a favorable change in the condition of things were indulged on all sides, except by the few who envied him the reputation he had acquired on the plains of Saratoga. General Lee, however, it is stated, anticipated a different result, and remarked of Gates, that "his northern lau-



rels would soon be exchanged for southern willows;" but this remark, in all probability, originated rather in the bitterness of his disposition, than in any intuitive knowledge he could have possessed.

On receiving notice of his appointment, General Gates proceeded southward without delay, and joined the army under De Kalb, at Buffalo Ford, on Deep river, on the 25th of July. The whole force consisted of about two thousand men, and large reinforcements of militia from North Carolina and Virginia, were daily expected. It had been the intention of De Kalb to deviate from the direct route to Camden, where the British force under Cornwallis was soon after concentrated, in order that he might establish magazines and hospitals at convenient points, and be more favorably situated for obtaining supplies. But General Gates, on his arrival, determined to follow the straight route to the enemy, notwithstanding it led through a barren and inhospitable country.

On the 27th of July, he commenced his march, but soon experienced the privations and difficulties which De Kalb had been



anxious to avoid. Meal and corn were so scarce that the men were forced to use unripe corn and peaches instead of bread, and for some time they were forced to subsist chiefly on lean cattle, accidentally found in the woods. This wretched diet, and the intense heat and unhealthy climate, reduced the army to a most wretched condition. General Gates was indefatigable in expediting his march. After having effected a junction with General Caswell, at the head of the North Carolina militia, and a small body of troops under Lieutenant Colonel Porterfield, he arrived at Rugely's Mills on the 13th of August.

On the next day, he was joined by the militia of Virginia, amounting to seven hundred men, under General Stevens. An express arrived on the same day from Colonel Sumpter, a partizan officer, who had posted himself with a considerable body of men, on the west side of the Wateree, informing Gates that an escort of clothes, ammunition, and other stores, for the garrison at Camden, was on its way from Ninety-six. The latter immediately detached one hundred regular

infantry and three hundred North Carolina militia, to reinforce Sumpter, whom he ordered to reduce the British fort on the Wateree, and intercept the convoy. On the 15th instant he continued his advance in the direction of Camden, with the intention of taking a position about seven miles from that place.

On the advance of General Gates into South Carolina, Cornwallis quitted Charleston, where he had been previously established, and repaired to Camden, at which place he arrived on the same day that Gates reached Rugely's Mills. The British commander could not assemble more than two thousand men at Camden, and, as the whole country was rising against him, he found it necessary either to retreat, or to strike a decisive blow. He chose the latter alternative, and at ten o'clock at night, on the 15th of August, the very hour General Gates proceeded from Rugely's Mills, about thirteen miles distant, he marched towards the American Camp.

General Gates had sent his sick, heavy baggage, and military stores not wanted for

immediate use, under a strong guard to Waxhaw's, and advanced with considerable confidence and rapidity. Colonel Armand's legion composed the van; Porterfield's light infantry, with a company of picked men from Stevens' brigade, marching in Indian files, two hundred yards from the road, covered the right flank of the legion; and Major Armstrong's light infantry, of the North Carolina militia, reinforced in like manner by General Caswell, in the same order, covered the left. The Maryland division, followed by the North Carolina and Virginia militia, with the artillery, composed the main body and rear guard; and the volunteer cavalry were equally distributed on the flanks of the baggage. The American force did not exceed four thousand men; only nine hundred of whom were regular troops, and there were seventy cavalry.

About two o'clock on the morning of the 16th of August, the advanced guards of both parties unexpectedly met in the woods. A portion of the American cavalry forming the advanced guard, being wounded by the first fire, fell back in confusion, and broke the

Maryland regiment, which formed the head of the column. A scene of confusion ensued, which went very far, heightened as it was by the darkness of the night, to fill the minds of the raw troops with that terror and gloom from which they do not appear to have recovered. Several skirmishes happened during the night, and a number of prisoners were taken on either side, from whom the respective commanders gained some information in regard to the position of the two armies. General Gates unfortunately found himself situated with morasses on his right and left, so that he could not avail himself of his superior numbers to outflank the enemy; consequently all the advantages of a larger force were entirely lost.

At dawn of day, the two armies were prepared for action. Cornwallis formed his men in two divisions; that on the right was under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Webster; that on the left, under Lord Rawdon. In front were four field pieces. The seventy-first regiment, with two cannon, formed the reserve; and the cavalry, about three hundred in number, were stationed in the rear.

General Gates placed the second Maryland brigade, under General Cist, on the right of his line; the militia of North Carolina, commanded by General Caswell, in the centre; and the Virginia militia, with the light infantry and Colonel Armand's corps, on the left. The artillery was placed between the divisions. Baron De Kalb commanded on the right, and the militia generals were with their respective commands. The battle was commenced by the advance of Colonel Webster, with the right wing of the British army, to attack the American left. As he advanced, he was assailed by a scattering discharge of musketry from some volunteer militia in advance of their comrades, but his soldiers rushed through the loose fire, and charged the American line with a shout.

The militia instantly threw down their arms and fled, many of them without discharging their muskets. A great part of the centre division, composed of the North Carolina militia, imitated the example of their Virginia brethren; few of either division fired a shot, and fewer still bore away their arms. General Gates and some of the militia ge-

nerals threw themselves in the way of the fugitives, and earnestly besought them to maintain their ground like men. But all subordination was gone. They had become panic-stricken, and Tarleton rode over them, with his legion, and cut them down, almost without resistance. General Gates, in despair, hastened with a few friends to Charlotte, eighty miles from the field of battle. Baron De Kalb manfully defended himself, and his brave Marylanders withstood all the efforts of the enemy, until their whole force was concentrated against them, when they were compelled to give way. The brave Baron fell at the head of his men, pierced with eleven wounds. His death terminated the disasters of the day.

General Gates was completely overwhelmed by his defeat. His own rashness, want of caution, and neglect in watching the movements of the enemy, undoubtedly led to the unhappy issue of the engagement; but had he been supported by another De Kalb, or had the Virginia and North Carolina militia remained firm at their posts, the victory would have been secured. He continued to

retreat, with such forces as he could collect, to Salisbury, and thence to Hillsborough, where he succeeded in gathering around him the scattered fragments of his army. Being afterwards reinforced by several small bodies of regulars and militia, he again advanced towards the south, and established his post at Charlotte. Here he remained in command, until the 3rd day of December, when he was relieved by General Greene, who had been appointed to supersede him.

While General Gates was still at Charlotte, in the midst of his misfortunes, he was called to mourn the death of an only son. The following statement in relation to this afflicting dispensation, is given in Garden's Anecdotes, and affords conclusive proof of his kind heart and generous disposition :

“ Having occasion to call on General Gates,” says the author of the statement, “ relative to the business of the department under my immediate charge, I found him traversing the apartment which he occupied, under the influence of high excitement ; his agitation was excessive ; every feature of his countenance, every gesture, betrayed it. Of-



ficial despatches informing him that he was superseded, and that the command of the southern army had been transferred to General Greene, had just been received and perused by him. His countenance, however, betrayed no expression of irritation or resentment; it was sensibility alone that caused his emotion. An open letter which he held in his hand, was often raised to his lips and kissed with devotion, while the exclamation repeatedly escaped them: 'Great man! Noble, generous procedure!' When the tumult of his mind had subsided, and his thoughts found utterance, he, with strong expressions of feeling, exclaimed: 'I have received this day a communication from the commander-in-chief, which has conveyed more consolation to my bosom, more ineffable delight to my heart, than I had believed it possible for it ever to have felt again. With affectionate tenderness he sympathizes with me in my domestic misfortunes, and condoles with me on the loss I have sustained by the recent death of an only son; and then with peculiar delicacy, lamenting my misfortune in battle, assures me that his confidence in my zeal and



capacity is so little impaired, that the command of the right wing of the army will be bestowed on me, so soon as I can make it convenient to join him.' ”

General Gates resigned the command to his successor, with entire good feeling, and the latter ever continued to defend the military reputation of his friend. He always asserted that if there was any mistake in the conduct of Gates, it was in hazarding an action at all, against a force which was superior to his own in reliable strength; and, when informed of his own appointment to supersede him, he declared his unabated confidence in the military talents of General Gates, and his willingness to serve under him.

The same resolution of Congress which directed the commander-in-chief to supersede General Gates, also provided for a court of inquiry on his conduct. The inquiry resulted in his acquittal; and it was the general opinion that he was not treated by Congress with that delicacy and gratitude which was due to his acknowledged merits as an officer, and his gallant services in the field. He was

not reinstated in his military command, in the main army, until 1782, after the independence of the country had been finally secured. He took part in the closing scenes of the Revolution, and was most painfully affected at the final separation of Washington from his military family.

After the peace, General Gates retired to his farm in Berkeley county, Virginia, where he continued to reside until 1790, when, having emancipated his slaves, and made pecuniary provision for such of them as were unable to provide for themselves, he removed to the city of New York. On his arrival, the freedom of the city was tendered to him; and, in 1800, he received the nomination of the republican party as one of their candidates for the assembly of the state, and was elected by a large majority. Although firm and decided in his political views, this did not separate him from the many personal friends who entertained different opinions. He possessed a handsome person; was courteous and agreeable in his manners; amiable and benevolent in his disposition; of warm social habits, and a kind and sincere friend.

A few weeks before his death, he closed a letter to a friend, with the following allusion to his situation :

“I am very weak, and have evident signs of an approaching dissolution. But I have lived long enough, since I have lived to see a mighty people animated with a spirit to be free, and governed by transcendent abilities and honor.” He died at his residence in the vicinity of New York, on the 10th day of April, 1806, at the age of 78.



# NATHANIEL GREENE.

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*Birth and Parentage.—His early love of Learning and capacity for Business.—Elected to the Legislature.—Enters the Army at the head of Rhode Island Provincials, and joins Washington.—Renders valuable aid to Washington at the Battle of Trenton; also in the Battle of Princeton.—Appointed Commissary General.—Battle of Monmouth.—His Engagement with the British at Springfield.—Execution of Andre.—Appointed to Command of Southern Army.—Gen. Greene's skillful Retreat before Cornwallis.—Battle of Guilford Court House and Retreat of Cornwallis.—Battle of Camden.—Unsuccessful Attack upon Fort Ninety-Six.—Battle of Eutaw Springs.—Cessation of Hostilities and his return to Rhode Island.—Gratitude of the States towards him.—Removes to Georgia.—His Sudden Death.—His valuable Military Services.—His Character.—Reflections.*

This distinguished officer was indebted to none of the adventitious aids of wealth, or family connections, for the high estimation in which he was held by his brother officers,

and his countrymen in general, at the close of the revolution. He was, in every sense, "the founder of his own fortune, and the author of his own fame." He was the son of Nathaniel Greene, a very respectable member of the Society of Friends, and was born in the year 1741, at Warwick, Kent County, in the province of Rhode Island. His father was an anchor smith, and the subject of this notice was intended for the same humble, though honorable occupation. He was instructed at school, in the elements of a common English education, but his appetite for the acquisition of knowledge was not satisfied by the means thus placed within his reach; and with such funds as he could procure, he purchased a small library, and spent his evenings, and most of his leisure time, in storing his mind with useful information. His practical intelligence, his capacity for business, and his uprightness of character, soon secured him the esteem and good will of his friends and acquaintances. Young Greene was often referred to as a striking example to the other youths of the colony, of what industry and application

could accomplish ; and quite early in life he was elected to a seat in the provincial legislature, by a most flattering vote.

In the new position to which he had been elevated, Greene displayed the same assiduity and attention to business, and the same desire to do good to himself and to others, which had formerly characterized him. His early reading had imbued him with a sincere love of liberty. He had learned to hate tyranny and oppression in all their forms. When he entered upon his duties as a legislator, the difficulties with the mother country had just commenced. He did not hesitate a single instant as to what course he should adopt. His conscience assured him that the cause of the colonies was just and right, and he openly and boldly avowed the convictions of his mind on this important question. Modest and unassuming in his deportment, he contented himself with an inferior position, until the time came for throwing off the yoke, or tamely submitting to the iniquitous demands of the English ministry. For this crisis, Greene had already prepared himself, and he then aspired to a more prominent sta-

tion, and to become one of the leaders of the enterprise in which his whole heart was enlisted. Casting aside the peaceful habits in which he had been educated, as being wholly unsuited to the perilous times in which he lived, he manfully declared in favor of open resistance to the English government. His immediate personal friends and relatives earnestly entreated him to refrain from adopting a course so inconsistent with what they alleged to be his duty, as a member of the Society of Friends. But the love of country was far dearer to him than the ties of kindred; and he only replied to their entreaties, by assuring them that his determination was fixed and unalterable. His services and his life belonged to his country, and he would peril all in her defence. When his final decision became known, he was disowned by most of his connections, and dismissed from the society to which he belonged. However much these circumstances may have vexed and grieved him, they did not induce him to swerve from what he believed was right.

He commenced his military studies in the



capacity of a private soldier, in October, 1774, in a military association, commanded by James M. Varnum, afterwards a brigadier general. In May, 1775, three regiments of militia were raised by the province of Rhode Island, and placed under the command of Greene, who marched them with as much expedition as circumstances would permit, to Cambridge, and joined the main army already congregated there. On the 22d day of June, he was appointed by Congress one of the brigadier generals in the colonial service. He remained with Washington during the investment of Boston, and contributed a great deal, by his practical knowledge and usefulness, to sustain the commander-in-chief in the embarrassing condition of the army and the government. He continued to pursue his military studies with unabated zeal and application, and soon became thoroughly versed in the science of war. He was cool and cautious, but full of resources; he was always ready to avail himself of any advantage, and when the proper time came for action, he was prompt and decisive in his movements. With a few other officers, he at one

time counselled an assault on the British fortifications at Boston. Washington himself concurred in this project, and it would probably have been carried into effect, had not a majority of the council been of a different opinion.

Soon after the arrival of Washington at Cambridge, a friendship was formed between Greene and himself, which gradually ripened into the most confidential intimacy, and continued unchanged through life. The evacuation of Boston by the British, in March, 1776, rendered the presence of so large a force in that quarter unnecessary, and the American commander removed his head quarters to New York, whither General Greene accompanied him.

On the 2d day of July, General Howe landed on Staten Island with a force of nine thousand men, and his brother, Lord Howe, arrived in a few days, with a reinforcement from England, twenty thousand strong. General Washington was ill prepared to meet so powerful an army. His whole force consisted of but about eleven thousand men, two thousand of whom were entirely without

arms. He attempted to obstruct the East and North rivers, by sinking vessels in the channels, and raised fortifications at New York and on Long Island, for the purpose of preventing the march of the British army to New York.

The American army was posted partly at New York and partly on Long Island. General Greene was entrusted with the command at the latter place, and discharged his duty with fidelity and promptitude. His camp was strongly fortified, and was approachable only by three different defiles through a woody ridge in front, which obliquely intersected the island, a few miles from Brooklyn. One of these defiles was at the southern extremity, near the narrows; another about the middle, on the Flatbush road; and a third near the north-east extremity of the hills, on the Bedford road. General Greene had carefully examined all these routes in person; and as it was evident that the British army must debark on the farther side of the ridge, he resolved to dispute the passage of the defiles.

At this important moment, he was taken

dangerously sick, and compelled to retire from all active duty. The command on the island outside of the lines of fortifications, then devolved on General Sullivan, who was not equally sensible of the importance of protecting the passes. He sent strong detachments to guard that near the Narrows, and the Flatbush road; but to the more distant route, by the Bedford road, he sent only an officer and a small party, with directions to observe it, and give notice if the enemy should appear. The consequences of this neglect were disastrous in the extreme. All the passes to Brooklyn were guarded, but one; and it was by that the British troops, who decided the fortunes of the battle on Long Island, were enabled, by a forced night march, to turn the American flank. To the absence of Greene, who had studied, and would doubtless have guarded, all the approaches to the camp, may the defeat of the American forces be mainly attributed. It must indeed have been a bitter pang to him, to feel that his presence might have given a check to the operations of the British army, at this critical period of the

war, from which it would not easily have recovered. The battle of Long Island occurred on the 27th of August, 1776. Previous to this affair, viz: on the 26th of August, General Greene was promoted to the rank of major general.

General Greene accompanied the army under Washington in its dangerous retreat from New York, by the way of Kingsbridge, White Plains, and North Castle, to New Jersey. A council of war was held about this time, to determine whether, in the existing state of things, it was advisable to retain possession of Fort Washington, near Kingsbridge, on the Island of New York, and Fort Lee, which was situated nearly opposite, on the Jersey shore. General Lee was of the opinion that they ought to be abandoned; but General Greene urged the propriety of defending them, in order to obstruct the progress of the enemy, which opinion prevailed. Fort Washington was afterwards taken by General Howe, with the loss of one thousand men in killed and wounded. General Greene had been entrusted with the command of the troops near Fort Lee, and early on the morn-

ing of the 18th of November, two days after the capture of Fort Washington, Lord Cornwallis passed through the communication between the East and North rivers, by Kingsbridge, with a strong detachment, in flat-bottomed boats, for the purpose of cutting off the retreat of the American forces on the Jersey shore. General Greene, however, being apprised of this movement, by a rapid march escaped with the main body of the garrison, but left behind some stragglers, and his heavy artillery and baggage, which fell into the hands of the enemy.

After retreating through New Jersey, General Washington finally crossed the Delaware, in December, and took up a position on the south side of the river. The British troops were scattered through the country between the Delaware and Hackensack rivers. About one thousand five hundred Hessians, under Colonel Rhalle, were stationed at Trenton, and about two thousand at Bordentown, a few miles below, under Count Donop. General Washington had only about two thousand troops with him, but he held a council of war, at which General Greene

was present, who resolved on the enterprise against Trenton, which was made on the 26th of December, 1776. The attacking force was formed into three divisions. The third and main division, which was the only one that crossed the river on the evening of the 25th, was commanded by Washington, in person, assisted by Generals Sullivan and Greene, and Colonel Knox, of the artillery. The Hessian force was taken completely by surprise. Their commander was killed early in the engagement, and as they were unable to sustain the galling fire of the American artillery, about one thousand of his men threw down their arms and surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

On the evening of the 26th, Washington re-crossed the Delaware, carrying his prisoners along with him, and their arms, colors and artillery. The success of this bold movement produced a change in public feeling, and large reinforcements soon came into the camp. Early in January, General Washington found himself at the head of five thousand men. His head quarters were at this time at Trenton. The British were at once

alarmed for the safety of their posts in New Jersey, and Lord Cornwallis was despatched with a strong force against Trenton.

On the approach of the enemy, General Washington crossed a rivulet, named the Assumpink, and took post on the high ground with the rivulet in front. On the 2d of January, 1777, a smart cannonade ensued, and continued till night ; Lord Cornwallis intending to renew the attack the next morning. A council of war was held by General Washington, of which General Greene was a member, who planned the daring attack on the British garrison at Princeton. Washington silently decamped in the night, leaving his fires burning, his sentinels advanced, and small parties to guard the fords of the rivulet, and by a circuitous route through Allentown, proceeded toward Princeton. The cold was intense, but this only rendered the march less difficult, as the roads were like solid pavement. The battle at Princeton was one of the most memorable during the war, and exceedingly fatal to the American officers. They lost one general, two colonels, one major and three captains.



General Washington was several times exposed to imminent danger, and the gallantry, skill, and prudence of General Greene, were conspicuous on this occasion. The enemy were obliged to retreat, with considerable loss, but as the main body under Cornwallis were rapidly hastening up, General Washington immediately proceeded to Morristown, by forced marches, and fixed his head quarters at that point.

In June, 1777, General Howe crossed over the river from New York, with a large body of men, with the intention of opening the campaign, by compelling Washington to abandon his position, or risk an engagement with a much superior force. After receiving a small reinforcement, the American army changed its position from Morristown to Middlebrook, on the north side of the Raritan. General Howe employed every artifice to draw his opponent from the advantageous ground he occupied, but without success. He then returned to New Brunswick, and committed terrible devastations on his march. On the 22nd of June, he retired to Amboy, closely followed by an American detachment

under General Greene, who hung upon his rear, and frequently attacked it. General Howe then crossed with his army to Staten Island, and subsequently sailed for the southward. In the month of August he entered the Chesapeake Bay, and landed his forces at the head of the Elk river. General Washington hastened to meet the British army, as soon as he was informed of its destination.

On the advance of the enemy from Elk river, General Washington retreated across the Brandywine, a creek which falls into the Delaware at Wilmington. With his main body he took post at Chad's Ford, where it was expected the British would attempt the passage; and General Sullivan was ordered, with a detachment, to watch the fords above.

On the morning of the 11th of September, the British advanced in two columns; the right under General Knyphausen, marching to Chad's Ford, and the left under Lord Cornwallis, passing up the river. General Sullivan being unexpectedly attacked by so large a body of the enemy, fell back in disorder.

When General Washington heard the

firing in that direction, he ordered General Greene with Weedon's brigade, to the support of Sullivan. Greene marched four miles in forty-two minutes, and arrived just in time to cover the retreat. He threw himself into the rear of his flying countrymen, and, retreating slowly, kept up so destructive a fire on the advancing columns of the British, that their movements were greatly retarded. He at length reached a narrow defile, secured on the right and left by thick woods, halted his forces, sent forward his cannon, that they might be out of reach of danger, if he were forced to a hasty retreat, and formed his men, with the determination of disputing the passage with small arms. This he effected with entire success, notwithstanding the vast superiority of the force under Cornwallis. He renewed the battle, and kept the enemy at bay, until the darkness of the night brought the conflict to a close. The gallantry of Greene on this occasion not only saved the detachment under General Sullivan, but enabled the whole American army to effect their retreat to Philadelphia in safety, and from thence to Skip-

pach creek, on the north side of the Schuylkill.

“On this occasion only,” says a narrator of the incident, “did the slightest misunderstanding ever occur, between General Greene and the commander-in-chief. In his general orders after the battle, the latter neglected to bestow any special applause on Weedon’s brigade. Against this, General Greene remonstrated in person. General Washington replied: ‘You, sir, are considered my favorite officer. Weedon’s brigade, like myself, are Virginians. Should I applaud them for their achievement under your command, I shall be charged with partiality; jealousy will be excited, and the service injured.’

“‘Sir,’ exclaimed Greene, with considerable emotion, ‘I trust your Excellency will do me the justice to believe that I am not selfish. In my own behalf I have nothing to ask. Act towards *me* as you please; I shall not complain. However richly I prize your Excellency’s good opinion and applause, a consciousness that I have endeavored to do my duty, constitutes, at present, my richest reward. But do not, sir, let me entreat

you, on account of the jealousy that may arise in little minds, withhold justice from the brave fellows I had the honor to command.'

"Convinced that prudence forbade the special notice requested, the commander-in-chief persisted in his silence. Greene, on cool reflection, appreciated the motives of his General, and lost no time in apologising for his intemperate manner, if not for his expressions. Delighted with his frankness and magnanimity, Washington replied, with a smile: 'An officer, tried as you have been, who errs but once in two years, deserves to be forgiven.' With that, he offered him his hand, and the matter terminated."

After the retreat of Washington, the British army advanced to Philadelphia. As their position was felt to be insecure, so long as the navigation of the river remained obstructed, General Howe detached a portion of his force, for the purpose of removing the obstructions, and encamped with the main body of his army at Germantown. While in this position, General Washington determined on attacking the enemy. Accordingly

his troops were got under way on the evening of the 3d of October, and marched to Germantown, seventeen miles from Skippack creek. The command of the left wing was given to General Greene. After a smart conflict, the British advanced guard were driven in, but as a portion of the enemy had occupied a large stone house in front of the main column of the Americans, the onward progress of the latter was impeded, and after an obstinate engagement, in which the loss on both sides was very severe, they were compelled to retreat. Under cover of a dense fog they returned to their camp in safety. General Greene exerted himself to the utmost, to retrieve the fortunes of the day, but his efforts were unavailing. The loss of the British in this action was six hundred in killed and wounded; the Americans lost the same number, besides four hundred who were taken prisoners. Without any farther encounter with the British troops, the American army soon retired to their winter quarters at Valley Forge, twenty-six miles from Philadelphia.

At this time, the quarter-master's department of the American army, was in a most deplorably ineffective condition. When solicited by Congress to name some person, competent to fill the office of quarter-master general, and restore its usefulness, Washington instantly fixed on General Greene. He knew that he was just the man calculated to discharge the duties of the station, with fidelity and despatch; still, he was also aware that Greene was every inch a soldier, and warmly attached to the duties of the line. Notwithstanding this, he expressed the opinion, that if General Greene could be convinced of his ability to render his country greater services in the quarter-master's department than in the field, he would not hesitate to accept the appointment. "There is not," said he, "an officer of the army, nor a man in America, more sincerely attached to the interests of his country. Could he best promote her interests in the character of a *corporal*, he would exchange, as I firmly believe, without a murmur, the epaulette for the knot. For, although he is not

without ambition, that ambition has not for its object the highest rank, so much as the *greatest good.*”

When the appointment was first tendered to General Greene, he declined accepting it; but after a friendly conference with the commander-in-chief, he consented to reverse his decision, on condition that he should forfeit none of his rights to command, in time of action. On these terms he received the appointment, on the 22d of March, 1778, and entered on the duties of the office. His administration of the affairs of the department was a most fortunate one for the army, and a new impetus seemed at once to be given to all its operations.

Early in the spring of 1778, the British army, then under the command of Sir Henry Clinton, evacuated Philadelphia, and crossed the Delaware on their route to New York. For several days Washington entertained the idea of attacking the enemy on their retreat, but the decision of his council was adverse to such a course. He then threw forward strong detachments under Generals Dickinson, Maxwell and Cadwallader, and



Colonel Morgan, who were ordered to harass the enemy as much as possible. General Washington then summoned a council of war the second time, when their opinion still being adverse to an attack, he decided to act on his own responsibility.

On the 28th of June, General Lee, who had advanced under his orders, at the head of five thousand men, attacked the rear of the British army near Freehold Court House, in the county of Monmouth, supposing that he should meet with little or no resistance. But he soon discovered his mistake, when he found that Sir Henry Clinton had placed the flower of his troops in the rear division, under the command of Lord Cornwallis. He then commenced a rapid retreat, in order to secure a more advantageous position, when he was met by General Washington, who reproved him for his conduct, and ordered General Greene to assume the command of the right wing of the army. The latter rendered efficient service in this affair, and was instrumental in retrieving the losses sustained in the early part of the day. The result of the battle was advantageous to the

American cause, although Sir Henry Clinton continued his march to Sandy Hook, on his way to New York, without farther molestation.

After the battle at Monmouth, General Greene was despatched to assist General Sullivan in his operations against the enemy in Rhode Island. A combined movement, in connection with the French naval force under Count D'Estaing, was in contemplation, for the reduction of the British garrison at Newport, amounting to about six thousand men, under the command of General Pigot. At the very moment when the assistance of the fleet was the most needed, Count D'Estaing, in compliance with the decision of a council of his officers, decided on proceeding immediately to Boston. General Greene, in company with the Marquis De La Fayette, waited on the Count, to remonstrate with him on the subject, and to press his co-operation and assistance for two days only, in which time they hoped to be able to accomplish every thing that was desired; but he continued to adhere to his former resolution, and on the 28th of August, General Sullivan

was compelled to raise the siege, and retire into the interior of the State.

The presence of General Greene in his native state, after so long an absence, was hailed with the most lively demonstrations of joy. The inhabitants gathered round him in crowds, and even the sober-minded members of the Society of Friends, were heartily rejoiced to take him by the hand. They often visited him at his quarters, and congratulated him on the elevated rank he had attained in the service of his country. On a certain occasion, one of the members of the Society was enquired of, to know how he could reconcile his conscience with the attentions he had paid to General Greene, whose profession was that of war? He promptly replied: "Friend, it is not a suit of uniform that can either make or spoil a man. True, I do not approve of this many-colored apparel, but whatever may be the form or color of his coat, Nathaniel Greene still retains the same sound head and virtuous heart, that gained him the love and esteem of our Society."

During the year 1779, General Greene was

wholly engrossed with the duties of the quarter-master's department. His unremitting exertions were directed to furnishing the army with the necessary clothing and stores, but, in spite of his efforts, he was so poorly sustained by Congress, that the condition of the army was oftentimes most deplorable. The privations and sufferings of the soldiers were so great in the spring of 1780, that the temper of the men was soured, and it required the utmost exertions of the officers, and of the commander-in-chief, to prevent a total disbandment of his force.

On the 18th of June, 1780, Sir Henry Clinton returned from South Carolina, with about four thousand men, and commenced offensive operations in the vicinity of New York. Being apprehensive, that it was the intention of the British commander to sail up the Hudson, and attack the posts in the Highlands, General Washington proceeded from Springfield, where he had been encamped, toward Pompton, with the main body of his army. General Greene was left at Springfield with seven hundred continentals, the Jersey militia, and some cavalry.

Sir Henry Clinton, after having perplexed the Americans by his movements, rapidly advanced with his whole force, on the morning of the 23d of June, from Elizabethtown to Springfield. General Greene hastily collected his detachment, and apprised General Washington of the march of the enemy. He had scarcely assembled his troops and made the necessary dispositions, when the royal army appeared before the town, and a cannonade immediately began. In front of the town was a fordable rivulet, with bridges, corresponding with the different roads. Greene had stationed parties to guard the bridges, and they obstinately disputed the passage, until they were overpowered, and compelled to retreat. He then fell back, and took post on a range of hills, where he expected to be again attacked, and made preparations to give the enemy a warm reception. Instead of pursuing their advantage, the British set fire to the village, and retreated to Elizabethtown, whither they were pursued with impetuosity, by the militia under Greene, who were provoked at the burning of Springfield. Before six o'clock the

next morning, the British had evacuated the Jerseys, and destroyed the bridge of boats which communicated with Staten Island. The object of Sir Henry Clinton in this expedition, was the destruction of the American magazines in that quarter, but the obstinate resistance of General Greene at Springfield, deterred him from advancing into a country where he could have been so advantageously assailed by an inferior force.

In the autumn of 1780, Major Andre, who had been sent by Sir Henry Clinton to concert measures with General Arnold for betraying the post at West Point, was seized within the American lines, and tried and executed as a spy. The part General Greene was called upon to perform in this melancholy affair, was a most painful one. General Washington detailed a court for the trial of Andre, consisting of fourteen general officers, La Fayette and Steuben being two of the number, and General Greene was appointed to preside. The court were unanimous in the opinion, that he had been taken as a spy, and must suffer death. The sentence was ordered to be carried into execu-

tion on the day after it was declared. Andre did not complain of the sentence, but he urgently entreated that he might be permitted to die a soldier's death. In a letter to General Washington, he made a most powerful and pathetic appeal to him, to modify the sentence, so that he should not be compelled to die on a gibbet. 'This letter affected the commander-in-chief to such a degree, that he referred it to his general officers for their opinion. With one exception, they were unanimous in their desire, that Andre should be shot. General Greene alone refused to yield his judgment to the feelings of sympathy it was so natural to indulge.

"Andre," said he to Washington, "is either a spy, or an innocent man. If the latter, to execute him, in any way, will be murder; if the former, the mode of his death is prescribed by law, and you have no right to alter it. Nor is this all. At the present alarming crisis of our affairs, the public safety calls for a solemn and impressive example. Nothing can satisfy it, short of the execution of the prisoner, as a common spy; a character of which his own confession has

clearly convicted him. Beware how you suffer your feelings to triumph over your judgment. Indulgence to one may be death to thousands. Besides, if you shoot the prisoner, instead of hanging him, you will excite suspicion, which you will be unable to allay. Notwithstanding all your efforts to the contrary, you will awaken public compassion, and the belief will become general, that, in the case of Major Andre, there were exculpating circumstances, entitling him to lenity beyond what he received—perhaps, entitling him to pardon. Hang him, therefore, or set him free!" It is unnecessary to add, that the commander-in-chief decided to follow the advice of Greene, and Andre was executed as a spy.

On the 5th of October, Congress passed a resolution, requiring the commander-in-chief to order a court of inquiry into the conduct of Major General Gates, as commander of the southern army, and to appoint another officer to that command till such inquiry should be made. General Washington instantly recommended General Greene, as a person fully qualified to assume the com-



mand, and he was soon after appointed. Writing on this subject to Mr. Mathews, a delegate from South Carolina, Washington remarked: "I think I am giving you a general; but what can a general do without men, without arms, without clothes, without stores, without provisions?"

The defeat of General Gates at Camden had been a sad blow to the American arms in that quarter, but General Greene set himself eagerly at work to remedy the evil. On his way to join the army, he visited the governors and legislatures of the states through which he passed, and urged them to furnish him with the supplies and reinforcements which were absolutely necessary, in order to enable him to act with any degree of efficiency.

On the 2d day of December, 1780, he arrived at Charlotte, the head quarters of General Gates, and assumed the command, at the same time treating his predecessor with the most marked courtesy and kindness. In a few hours after entering on his new duties, General Greene received the information that Colonel Washington, at the head of a small

party, had captured Colonel Rugely, a militia officer in the British service, and one hundred and twelve men. This circumstance revived the spirits of his little army, which consisted, at this time, of two thousand three hundred and seven men; two thousand and twenty-nine of whom were infantry, and the remainder cavalry, artillery, and continentals on extra service. Of the infantry, only eight hundred and twenty-one were continentals, and the remainder were militia.

General Greene soon found that he could not remain long at Charlotte, as the country between that place and Camden, had been so frequently traversed by the contending armies, that it was entirely exhausted of supplies. The command of the light troops had been previously entrusted to General Morgan, and General Greene placed him at the head of one of the divisions of his army, consisting of nearly four hundred infantry, under Lieutenant Colonel Howard, one hundred and seventy Virginia riflemen, under Major Triplett, and eighty light dragoons under Lieutenant Colonel Washington. With this small force, Morgan was sent to observe

the British at Wynnesborough and Camden, with instructions to shift for himself, but to risk as little as possible. On the 25th of December he took a position near the confluence of the Pacolet and Broad rivers.

With the other division of the army, General Greene left Charlotte on the 20th, and on the 26th of December arrived at Hicks' corner, on the east side of the Pedee, opposite the Cheraw hills, where he remained some time. On the 27th, General Morgan detached Colonel Washington, with his dragoons and two hundred militia, who the next day marched forty miles, surprised a body of loyalists at Ninety-Six, killed and wounded one hundred and fifty, and took forty prisoners, without sustaining any loss. At this time, Morgan was joined by Major McDowell, with two hundred North Carolina, and by Colonel Pickens with seventy South Carolina militia.

On the 14th of January, 1781, General Morgan was informed that Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton had been detached by Lord Cornwallis, with a force of one thousand and one hundred men, to drive him out of the

province. His position not being a favorable one, he therefore began to retreat, and crossed the Pacolet. He then continued his march, until he arrived at a place called the Cow-Pens, about three miles from the line of separation between North and South Carolina, where he halted his men, and made preparations to receive the enemy. He had just disposed his forces, when the British van appeared.

Tarleton's success had usually depended on his sudden and impetuous assaults, and he instantly formed his men, and rushed on to the attack. The American volunteers and militia gave way, but the continentals bravely maintained their ground, until Tarleton ordered up his reserve. Morgan then retreated to the summit of the eminence on which he was posted. The British fancied the victory won, and pursued in some disorder. On reaching the top of the hill, the continentals, under Colonel Howard, suddenly wheeled, and met the enemy with a deadly fire, which threw them into confusion. Colonel Howard then charged them with the bayonet, while Colonel Washington attacked the ca-

valry, sword in hand. 'This terminated the engagement, and the whole body of the enemy's infantry, with the exception of the detachment left to guard the baggage, were compelled to lay down their arms. In this battle, the British had ten commissioned officers and upwards of one hundred privates killed. More than five hundred were made prisoners, and two pieces of artillery, two standards, eight hundred muskets, thirty-five baggage wagons, and one hundred horses, fell into the hands of the Americans, who lost only twelve men killed, and about sixty wounded.

As soon as Cornwallis was advised of Tarleton's defeat, he determined to advance rapidly on Morgan, re-take his prisoners, and prevent his union with General Greene. Morgan was apprehensive of danger, and he prosecuted his retreat without delay. Crossing Broad river, at the upper fords, he hastened to the Catawba, which he reached on the evening of the 28th, and passed in safety, about two hours before the van of the British army hove in sight. On the night of the 28th, the river rose so unexpectedly, in con-

sequence of the excessive rains, that it was impossible to cross over the next day. This providential interposition saved Morgan's detachment, as Cornwallis had destroyed all his superfluous baggage, and was fast closing up with him, when he reached the Catawba. It was two days before the inundation subsided, and in that interval, Morgan sent off his prisoners, under a strong escort, to Charlottesville, in Virginia.

On the 31st of January, General Greene arrived in Morgan's camp and assumed the command. He had heard of the latter's victory and danger, and, leaving his division under the command of General Huger and Colonel Williams, accompanied by only one aid-de-camp, and two or three mounted militia men, he set out to meet Morgan, who was then one hundred and fifty miles distant. Being informed, while on his route, that Cornwallis was in rapid pursuit of Morgan, he despatched instructions to Huger and Williams, to march as fast as possible, in order to join the other division at Charlotte, or Salisbury.

The river having subsided on the 31st,

Cornwallis resolved to attempt the passage, although the fords were all guarded. Early on the morning of the 1st of February, he left his ground, and succeeded in crossing the river at a private ford near McCowan's. General Davidson had been sent on the previous evening, with three hundred militia, to guard this ford, with directions to post his men close by the side of the river. He, however, stationed only a small party on the bank, while the rest of his force were encamped at a distance. He endeavored to obviate the consequences of his mistake when it was too late, and lost his life in the vain effort to prevent the British troops from effecting their passage. His defeat opened the river, and all the American parties retreated.

General Greene marched with such rapidity that he crossed the Yadkin at the trading ford on the night between the 2d and 3d of February, partly by fording, and partly by means of boats and flats. So closely was he pursued, that the British van was often in sight of the American rear, and a sharp conflict ensued between a body of riflemen and the advanced guard of the enemy, a short

distance from the ford. General Greene secured all the boats on the south side of the river, and here he was again befriended by the elements. The river suddenly rose, by reason of the heavy rains, and the British were unable to pass. Lord Cornwallis then resolved to march up the south bank of the river about twenty-five miles, and cross at the shallow fords near its source. General Greene continued on his route northward, and on the 7th of February joined the division under Huger and Williams, near Guilford Court House.

General Greene's army now consisted of two thousand infantry, and between two hundred and three hundred cavalry. He believed the force under Cornwallis to exceed two thousand five hundred men, and as his men were but poorly equipped, he determined to avoid a battle, and continue his march into Virginia. In order to cover his retreat and check the pursuing enemy, he formed a light corps from the flower of his troops, and placed them under the command of Colonel Williams. On the 10th of February, General Greene left Guilford Court



House on his march toward the Dan, the largest and most southern branch of the Roanoke, which separates North Carolina from Virginia. The retreat and pursuit were equally rapid; but the activity of the American light troops compelled the British to march in compact order, and with great caution. On one occasion, Colonel Lee charged the advanced cavalry of the enemy, killed a number, and made some prisoners.

General Greene's preparations for crossing the river were successful, and on the 14th he passed it, without difficulty. Although his light corps had marched forty miles that day, the last of them had scarcely reached the northern bank, when the advanced guard of the British army appeared on the other side of the river. As the river was deep, and all the boats removed from the southern bank of the stream, by direction of General Greene, Cornwallis was compelled, though much against his will, to give up the pursuit.

The retreat of General Greene, and his escape into Virginia, without sustaining any serious loss, called forth, on all sides, the strongest expressions of admiration. His re-

markable foresight and prudence, in the midst of the most trying difficulties, were never more signally manifested. Lord Cornwallis himself formed a higher and juster estimate of his opponent. "Greene," said he, "is as dangerous as Washington. He is vigilant, enterprising, and full of resources. With but little hope of gaining any advantage over him, I never feel secure when encamped in his neighborhood."

"In Virginia," says the American Biographical Dictionary, "General Greene received some reinforcements, and had the promise of more; on which he returned again into North Carolina, where, on their arrival, he hoped to be able to act on the offensive. He encamped in the vicinity of Lord Cornwallis' army. By a variety of the best concerted manœuvres, he so judiciously supported the arrangement of his troops, by the secrecy and promptitude of his motions, that, during three weeks, while the enemy remained near him, he prevented them from taking any advantage of their superiority, and even cut off all opportunity of their receiving succor from the royalists. About the

beginning of March, he effected a junction with a continental regiment, and two considerable bodies of Virginia and Carolina militia. He then determined on attacking the British commander, without loss of time, 'being persuaded,' as he declared in his subsequent despatches, 'that if he was successful, it would prove ruinous to the enemy; and, if otherwise, that it would be but a partial evil to him.' On the 14th, he arrived at Guilford Court House, the British then lying at twelve miles distance.

"His army consisted of about four thousand five hundred men, of whom near two-thirds were North Carolina and Virginia militia. The British were about two thousand four hundred; all regular troops, and the greater part inured to toil and service, in their long expedition under Cornwallis, who, on the morning of the 15th, being apprised of General Greene's intentions, marched to meet him. The latter disposed his army in three lines; the militia of North Carolina were in front, the second line was composed of those of Virginia, and the third, which was the flower of the army, was formed of

continental troops, near fifteen hundred in number. They were flanked on both sides by cavalry and riflemen, and were posted on a rising ground, a mile and a half from Guilford Court House.

“The engagement commenced at half an hour after one o’clock, by a brisk cannonade, after which the British advanced in three columns, and attacked the first line, composed of North Carolina militia. These, who probably had never been in action before, were panic struck at the approach of the enemy, and many of them ran away without firing a gun, or being fired upon, and even before the British had come nearer than one hundred and forty yards to them. Part of them, however, fired, but they then followed the example of their comrades. Their officers made every possible effort to rally them; but neither the advantages of their position, nor any other consideration, could induce them to maintain their ground.

“This shameful conduct had a great effect upon the issue of the battle. The next line, however, behaved much better. They fought with great bravery, and were thrown into

disorder, rallied, returned to the charge, and kept up a heavy fire for a long time, but were at length broken, and driven on the third line, when the engagement became general, very severe, and very bloody. At length, superiority of discipline carried the day from superiority of numbers. 'The conflict endured an hour and a half; and was terminated by General Greene's ordering a retreat, when he perceived that the enemy were on the point of encircling his troops.'

General Greene continued his retreat to Reedy Fork, three miles from the field of battle. After waiting some time to collect the stragglers, he retired to Speedwell's Iron Works, on Troublesome creek, ten miles from Guilford Court House, which was the appointed rendezvous in case of a defeat.

This was one of the severest engagements in the course of the war. In every battle where Greene commanded, many of the Americans fought obstinately, and, in this action, the Virginia militia displayed more than ordinary bravery; the brigade under General Stevens did not retreat, until that officer saw that his men were about to be

charged with the bayonet, which he knew they could not withstand, both on account of their discipline, and of their being without that weapon. General Greene lost four of his field pieces, which were the whole of his artillery, and two wagons. About three hundred of the continentals, and one hundred of the Virginia militia, were killed, or wounded. Upward of eight hundred of the Virginia and North Carolina militia were missing after the engagement, most of whom returned home, and never rejoined the army. The British lost several officers, and more than a third of their troops engaged in the battle, fell. According to the official returns, their loss was five hundred and thirty-two, in killed, wounded, and missing.

Cornwallis gained no permanent advantage from this engagement. His embarrassments were increased, instead of being relieved; and so far from being able to follow up his victory, he himself was obliged to fall back. On the third day after the battle, he began to retreat, leaving behind him about seventy wounded men, under the protection of a flag of truce, whom he recommended, in

a letter written by himself, to the humanity of the American commander.

When General Greene took his position at the iron works on Troublesome creek, he expected that Cornwallis would renew the engagement, and he made preparations for another conflict. As soon as he received the information of the retreat of his opponent, he commenced the pursuit, and followed him so closely that skirmishes occasionally happened between his advanced parties, and the rear guard of the British army. On the 28th of March, he arrived at Ramsay's Mills, on Deep river, where he was compelled to pause, on account of the condition of his troops, who had suffered much from heavy rains, deep roads, and scarcity of provisions. Some of them were in rags, and many were barefooted; the blood flowing from the gashes in their naked feet, marking their line of march. These hardships were endured without a murmur; but, as the militia had nearly all left him, and his force was reduced to about one thousand and seven hundred men, General Greene determined to give up the pursuit, and proceed to South Carolina.

One of his officers, who had distinguished himself in the action at Guilford Court House, not satisfied with the plan of operations, inquired of General Greene, by way of remonstrance: "What will you do, sir, in case Lord Cornwallis throws himself in your rear, and cuts off your communication with Virginia?" "I will punish his temerity," replied the general, "by ordering you to charge him as you did at the battle at Guilford. But never fear, sir; his lordship has too much good sense, ever again to risk his safety so far from the sea board. He has just escaped ruin, and he knows it; and I am greatly mistaken in his character as an officer, if he has not the capacity to profit by experience."

On the 5th of April General Greene moved from Ramsay's Mills; and, on the 20th of the same month, he encamped at Logtown, in sight of the British works at Camden, which were then occupied by Lord Rawdon, with a force of nine hundred men. The American army under Greene was about one thousand and two hundred strong,—detachments from the main body having been sent



in different directions through the country. After various unimportant movements, he took his position at Hobkerk's hill, an eminence about a mile north from Camden. Having recently made several forced marches, with a view of intercepting reinforcements intended for the relief of Camden, he was without his artillery and baggage; and, while in this condition, Lord Rawdon, who had been informed of the fact by a deserter, resolved to attack him, as the only means of saving his own troops.

On the morning of the 25th of April, he marched from Camden, at the head of his whole force, and gained the left flank of the Americans, undiscovered. The alarm was immediately given, and as the militia and cannon arrived just at that moment, General Greene soon had his army in order of battle. Notwithstanding the desperation of the British soldiery, the victory would have been easily won, had not a regiment of continentals given way at the most critical period of the action. As their officers were unable to rally them, General Greene reluctantly ordered a retreat. Lieutenant Colonel Wash-

ington, who had charged with some cavalry, and gained the British rear, had, at one time, not less than two hundred prisoners; but, seeing the infantry driven from the field, he paroled some wounded officers, and retired, taking with him about fifty prisoners, among whom were the royal surgeons. The American loss in this action, was about two hundred, in killed, wounded, and taken prisoners; that of the British was two hundred and fifty-eight.

This battle, like that at Guilford, diminished Lord Rawdon's strength, while it gave him only a temporary advantage. General Greene retired to Rugely's Mills; and, from time to time, took such positions as would prevent the garrison at Camden from receiving any supplies. While encamped behind Saunders' creek, he was attacked by Lord Rawdon, who had been reinforced by Colonel Watson with four hundred men; but, after driving in the outposts, and observing the situation of the enemy, the British commander thought best to return to Camden, without renewing the attack; and, on the 10th of May, he evacuated that post, leaving

behind him thirty of his sick and wounded, and as many Americans, whom he had taken at Hobkerk's hill. After the evacuation of Campden, several forts garrisoned by the British fell into the hands of the Americans, together with a large quantity of military stores and artillery, and a number of prisoners.

On the 22d of May General Greene commenced the siege of Fort Ninety-Six, with the main body of his little army, consisting of one thousand men. In a short time the works were so far reduced, that a surrender must soon have been made, when a reinforcement of three regiments arrived at Charleston, and Lord Rawdon instantly hastened with a force of two thousand men, to the relief of the post. The American general determined on making an assault before the arrival of Lord Rawdon, and on the 18th of June he commenced a furious attack on the place; but, after obtaining a partial success, he found it necessary to call off his men, and the next day commenced his retreat. During the siege he lost one hundred and

fifty-five men, and the garrison had eighty-five killed or wounded.

Lord Rawdon arrived at Ninety-Six on the 21st of June, and in the evening set out in pursuit of Greene; but, as he found it impossible to overtake the American army, he returned to Ninety-Six, evacuated the place, and contracted his posts.

General Greene immediately returned toward the Congaree, and his light troops were constantly hovering around the British troops, in their retreat to Orangeburgh. He soon after retired to the high hills of Santee, as the intense heat of the summer rendered it necessary to refresh his men, and remained there until the 22d of August.

He still continued to adhere to his noble declaration: "I will recover the country or die in the attempt!" and on leaving the hills of Santee, he again advanced toward the Congaree. The British army, consisting of about two thousand five hundred men, was now under command of Colonel Stuart, who retired, on the approach of Greene, about forty miles, to the Eutaw Springs, where he

was reinforced by a considerable detachment.

Having been joined by Marion and Sumpter, and a brigade of continental troops from North Carolina, General Greene resolved on attacking the British army. At four in the morning of the 18th of September, he advanced toward their encampment, in the following order : The South and North Carolina militia, commanded by Generals Pickens and Marion, formed the first line ; the second was composed of continental troops ; the North Carolina brigade, under General Sumner was on the right ; that of Virginia, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, was in the centre ; and that of Maryland, under Colonel Williams, was on the left. Lee's legion covered the right flank, and the state troops of South Carolina, under Colonel Henderson, covered the left ; Washington's cavalry and Kirkwood's infantry formed the reserve.

As the Americans advanced to the attack, they fell in with the advanced parties of the enemy, and drove them back, when the action soon became general. The militia dis-

played an unusual degree of firmness, but were obliged slowly to give way. The north Carolina troops then advanced with intrepidity. Colonels Williams and Campbell charged at once with the bayonet, and for a time the conflicting ranks were intermingled, and the officers fought hand to hand. At this time, Lee had turned the left flank of the British, and charged them in the rear. They were then taken and driven off the field, with the loss of their artillery. "Nothing," says Dr. Ramsay, "could surpass the intrepidity of both officers and men on this occasion. They rushed on in good order, through a heavy cannonade, and a shower of musketry, with such unshaken resolution, that they bore down all before them." The British were closely pursued, but a detachment gained possession of a large three story brick house in the rear, and another occupied a palisaded garden, and some close shrubbery, from which they poured forth a close and destructive fire. The Americans made the most desperate efforts to dislodge them; but every attack was unsuccessful. Four pieces of artillery were brought to bear

on the house, but made no impression. Almost all the artillery men were killed or wounded, and the cannon had been pushed so near the house that they could not be brought off. Colonel Washington made an attempt to turn the right flank of the enemy, but was wounded and taken prisoner. General Greene then drew off his men, and after leaving a strong picquet on the field of battle, retired with his prisoners to the ground he had left in the morning, in order to obtain water for his fainting troops.

This action was severely felt on both sides. The Americans lost five hundred and fifty-five in killed, wounded, and missing; sixty commissioned officers were among the sufferers, of whom seventeen were killed on the spot, and four mortally wounded. Lieutenant Colonel Campbell was among the slain. The British lost six hundred and ninety-three men in killed, wounded, and taken prisoners.

Some idea of the bravery of the American troops on this occasion, may be gathered from the following description of their condition, given in Judge Johnson's life of General Greene :

“At the battle of the Eutaw Springs, Greene says, ‘that hundreds of men, were naked as they were born.’ Posterity will scarcely believe the bare loins of many brave men who carried death into the enemy’s ranks at the Eutaw, were galled by their cartouch boxes, while a folded rag, or a tuft of moss, protected the shoulders from sustaining the same injury from the musket. Men of other times will inquire, by what magic was the army kept together? By what supernatural power was it made to fight?”

In his letters to the secretary of war, General Greene said: “We have three hundred men without arms, and more than one thousand so naked that they can be put on duty, only in cases of desperate nature.”

\*\*\*\*\* “Our difficulties are so numerous, and our wants so pressing, that I have not a moment’s relief from the most painful anxieties. I have more embarrassments than it is proper to disclose to the world. Let it suffice to say, that this part of the United States has had a narrow escape. I have been seven months in the field, without taking off my clothes.”



The British remained on the field, on the night after the battle at Eutaw ; but, as the light troops under General Marion and Colonel Lee had been detached to gain a position in their rear, they destroyed part of their stores on the next day, and began to retreat towards Monk's Corner, leaving about seventy of their wounded men, to the protection of the Americans. Colonel Stuart was considerably galled by Marion and Lee in his retreat ; part of his rear guard was cut off ; several of his men were killed, and a number made prisoners. The condition of General Greene's army again compelled him to return to his former encampment on the high hills of Santee.

The battle of Eutaw Springs effectually put an end to the war in the southern states. General Greene was honored by Congress with a British standard, and a gold medal, emblematical of the engagement, "for his wise, decisive, and magnanimous conduct, in the action at Eutaw Springs, in which, with a force inferior in number to that of the enemy, he obtained a most signal victory."

While General Greene was encamped on

the hills of Santee, he received the intelligence of the execution of Colonel Haynes, at Charleston, in obedience to the directions of Lord Cornwallis. He was exceedingly indignant on the occasion, inasmuch as a considerable part of the province of South Carolina was wrested from the British; and shortly afterward issued a proclamation, threatening "to make British officers the objects of retaliatory vengeance." Toward the close of November, he suddenly appeared before the British post at Dorchester; and after some skirmishing, the garrison retired to Charleston. He then posted his troops on both sides of the river Ashley; completely covered the country from the Cooper to the Edisto; and confined the British to Charleston neck, and the neighboring islands. The British force in Georgia was at the same time concentrated at Savannah.

After the capture of Yorktown, General Greene was reinforced by a body of troops under General St. Clair. On his arrival, General Wayne was detached across the Santee, to protect the State of Georgia. Several sharp skirmishes took place with the British

outposts at Savannah, but the garrison evacuated the post on the 11th of July, 1782, and retired from the province.

General Greene remained with his troops, in the vicinity of Charleston, until its evacuation by the British, on the 14th of December, 1782. After the cessation of hostilities, he withdrew from the south, and returned to his native state, where he was received in a manner highly honorable to himself, and to the citizens, who exhibited their attachment and regard, by every demonstration of welcome and joy. On the close of the war, the three southern states which had been especially benefitted by his exertions, manifested their gratitude to him by liberal donations. South Carolina presented him with an estate valued at ten thousand pounds sterling; Georgia, with an estate a few miles from Savannah, worth five thousand pounds; and North Carolina, with twenty-five thousand acres of land in Tennessee.

In October, 1785, General Greene removed with his family to Georgia, and settled on his estate, near Savannah. While walking

over his grounds, on the 15th of June, 1786, he was suddenly attacked with a stroke of the sun, which occasioned his death on the 19th of the month. As soon as the intelligence reached Savannah, all business was suspended; the dwelling houses, stores, and shops were closed; and the flags of the shipping in the harbor were displayed at half mast. On the following day, the body was conveyed to the town, and, at the request of the inhabitants, interred in a private cemetery, with military honors; the magistrates of the place, and other public officers, the society of the Cincinnati, and the citizens generally, joining in the procession, to pay the last tribute of respect to the gallant hero of the south, whose career of honor and of usefulness had thus suddenly been brought to a close.

The fact that the army were accustomed to regard General Greene as the favorite officer of the commander-in-chief, is, of itself, a high tribute to his military acquirements. At his first appearance in the army at Cambridge, he was pronounced by Colonel Pick-

ering and others, to be "a man of real military genius." General Knox remarked of Greene, to a distinguished citizen of South Carolina: "His knowledge is intuitive. He came to us the rawest, and most untutored being I ever met with; but in less than twelve months, he was equal in military knowledge, to any general officer in the army, and very superior to most of them." Colonel Tarleton often said, that "General Greene was the most able and accomplished commander that America had produced," and Luzerne, the accomplished minister of France, himself a knight of Malta, and a competent judge of military merit, pronounced the following encomium on his character as a soldier:

"Other generals subdue their enemies by the means with which their country, or their sovereign furnished them, but Greene appears to subdue his enemy, by his own means. He commenced his campaign without either an army, provisions, or military stores. He has asked for nothing since; and yet, scarcely a post arrives from the south,

that does not bring intelligence of some new advantage gained over his foe. He conquers by magic. History furnishes no parallel to this."

# NATHAN HALE.

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*His noble, self-sacrificing Devotion to the Country.—Criminal Neglect of Memory.—His Melancholy Fate.—Volunteers to cross over to Long Island to ascertain the numbers, position and movements of the British Army, after the defeat of the Americans in the Battle of Long Island.—Detected and Arrested as a Spy.—Avows his Attachment to the American Cause, and the Object of his Visit.—Orders for his Execution.—Barbarous treatment of the English before his Death. His noble bearing and his cheerful Resignation to his cruel Fate.*

THE firmness, intrepidity, and self-sacrificing devotion of NATHAN HALE, to the welfare of his country, led to one of the most interesting, though painful incidents, that transpired during the revolutionary war. The circumstances under which he came to his melancholy end, are such as reflect the highest honor on his patriotism, and demand from his countrymen, for the protection of

whose liberties he freely offered up his life, that grateful remembrance which such deeds ought ever to inspire. The memory of Andre is, at this day, fondly and faithfully cherished by the true-hearted Englishman. Honors and rewards liberally bestowed on his family, and magnificent monuments reared to commemorate his services and name, have evinced to the world that the soldier, who assumes the character of a spy, in the service of his country, is untainted with reproach or dishonor. The fate of Hale was like his, dark and unfortunate. But the fame of the one has been rescued from oblivion, while that of the other is left to struggle, unaided, against the advancing current of time. Such things should not be. America is rich in proud memories, and hallowed associations; but her gratitude should be equal to them all—not one of her “jewels” should be left unprized, or unhonored.

On the night of the 29th of August, 1776, the American troops under Washington, in consequence of their severe defeat in the battle on Long Island, left their encampment at Brooklyn, and crossed the East river, un-



perceived by the enemy. The advanced <sup>age</sup> sentinel of the British army was surprised, on the morning of the 30th, by the unusual stillness of the American lines. Calling two or three comrades, they proceeded to reconnoitre. On creeping near the embankment, and cautiously peeping into the camp, they perceived not a vestige of the army to whose challenges they had listened the night before. The alarm was given, and the party who rushed in to take possession of the works, saw, in the middle of the river, and beyond the reach of their fire, the last of the barges which had been employed to transport the American troops; and, beyond it, Washington himself was seated in a small boat, calmly surveying the scene. The whole army, consisting of nine thousand men, with all their artillery, stores, and ammunition, were thus transported to New York, without sustaining any loss or injury.

The retreat of Washington left the British in complete possession of Long Island; and it became of the highest importance to the American commander-in-chief, to obtain immediate and accurate information in regard

to the numbers of the enemy, their situation, and their future movements. For this purpose he applied to Lieutenant Colonel Knowlton, who commanded a regiment of light infantry, which formed the rear of the American army, on its retreat to Harlem, to provide him with some suitable person to cross the river in disguise, and obtain the necessary information. Colonel Knowlton at once suggested the matter to Nathan Hale, who was a native of Connecticut, and at that time a captain in his regiment.

Hale instantly volunteered to undertake the enterprise himself, and after receiving his instructions, set out for the British camp. He passed over to Long Island, examined the British army, and obtained all the information possible respecting their disposition, and their future operations. In attempting to return to New York, his disguise was penetrated. He was immediately apprehended and taken before Sir William Howe. The proof of his intentions was so clear and convincing, that he did not hesitate to avow his name and rank, and the purposes for which he visited the island. With undaunted cour-

age he boldly declared his attachment to the American cause, and refused to compromise his integrity, by listening to the tempting offers which were held out to him to betray his country.

The usages of war required the death of Hale, and Sir William Howe issued an order to have him executed the next morning. This order was carried into effect in the most barbarous and inhuman manner. With unflinching resolution and fortitude, Hale proceeded to the place appointed. He had voluntarily assumed the character of a spy, and he was prepared to abide the consequences of detection. He requested the presence of a clergyman for a few moments previous to his death, but this was refused. He then asked for a Bible, and this request was also denied. He had written several letters on the morning of his death, to his mother, his betrothed wife, and his other friends, which he desired should be forwarded to them. These innocent messages of filial affection and love, were wantonly destroyed by the provost marshal, who declared, *“that the rebels should not know they had a*

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*man in their army who could die with so much firmness !”*

Without making any further efforts to move his heartless persecutors, who were unwilling to accord to him the last offices of kindness and sympathy, Hale submitted quietly to his fate, declaring with his dying breath, that “he only lamented, *that he had but one life to lose for his country !*” Thus perished this noble martyr to the cause of American Independence. In the flower of youth, unfriended and alone, denied even one last word of remembrance to the mother who bore him, he offered up his life as a sacrifice for his country. Yet, to the last, he displayed a Roman firmness, worthy of all commendation. Though in the midst of tribulation, he was sustained by the proud, true soul within him, and by his reliance upon that Providence who watched over and protected his countrymen through the long night of the revolution.

## HENRY KNOX.

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*His Birth and Education.—Early enters the American Service.—Undertakes and accomplishes a most hazardous Enterprise.—Appointed to the Command of the Artillery Corps.—His Gallant Conduct at Trenton, Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth.—His close intimacy with Washington, throughout the War.—Washington's warm attachment to him.—Appointed to the Command of West Point.—Employed to Disband the Army.—Appointed Secretary of War.—Retires to his vast Estate in Maine.—Appointed to the Command of the American Forces in anticipation of a War with France.—His Literary Attainments, and noble traits of character.—The opinions entertained of his Military Talents, by eminent Foreign Generals.*

THE following memoir of this gallant and accomplished officer, is mainly extracted from Dr. Thatcher's "Military Journal, during the American Revolutionary War." Although abounding in strong expressions of admiration, it does no more than justice to the faith-

ful soldier, who stood by the side of Washington in many a well-fought field, and was honored with his warmest esteem and confidence.

General KNOX was born in Boston, in the month of July, 1750. His childhood and youth were employed in obtaining the best education that the justly celebrated schools of his native town could afford. In very early life he opened a bookstore, for the enlargement of which he soon formed an extensive correspondence in Europe. But a short time elapsed before he was induced, at the call of his country, to relinquish his lucrative and rapidly increasing business.

Indebted to no adventitious aid, his character was formed by himself; the native and vigorous principles of his own mind, developed and strengthened by education and his early association with men, made him what he was. Distinguished among his associates, from the first dawn of manhood, for a decided predilection for martial exercises, at the age of eighteen, he was selected by the young men of Boston as one of the officers of a company of grenadiers—a company so dis-

tinguished for its martial appearance, and the precision of its evolutions, that it received the most flattering encomiums from a British officer of high distinction.

This early scene of his military labors, served but as a school for the development of that distinguished talent which afterwards shone with lustre, in the most brilliant campaigns of an eight years' war, through the whole of which General Knox commanded the artillery, and directed its operations with consummate skill and bravery.

General Knox was early enlisted in the defence of the oppressed colonists; his heart was deeply interested in the cause of freedom; he felt it to be a righteous cause, and to its accomplishment cheerfully yielded every other consideration. When hostilities were declared by Great Britain, he hesitated not an instant in determining what course he should adopt. No sordid calculation of interest retarded his decision. The quiet of domestic life, the fair prospect of increasing wealth, and even the endearing claims of family and friends, though urged with the most

persuasive eloquence, had no power to divert the determined purpose of his mind.

In the early stages of British hostility, though not in commission, he was not an inactive spectator. At the battle of Bunker Hill, he was present as a volunteer, and constantly exposed himself to danger, in reconnoitering the movements of the enemy. Subsequently, his active mind was engaged with others in preparing those measures that were ultimately to dislodge the British troops from their boasted possession of the capital of New England.

Immediately after the arrival of Washington at Boston, and the commencement of preparations for the siege of Boston, it was perceived that without artillery, of which the army were then destitute, the most important objects of the war could not be accomplished. No resource presented itself, but the desperate expedient of procuring it from the Canadian frontier. Upwards of one hundred pieces of cannon had been captured at Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and, in the month of November, Fort St. John was ta-



ken by the northern army, under General Montgomery.

In the last mentioned fort, the Americans found a considerable number of brass and iron cannon, howitzers and mortars. To attempt bringing a portion of the captured artillery from the frontier, in the then agitated state of the country, through a wide extent of wilderness, was an enterprise so replete with difficulty and danger, that it was hardly expected any one would be found courageous enough to encounter its perils. Knox, however, saw the importance of the object—he saw his country bleeding at every pore, without the power of repelling her invaders—he saw the flourishing capital of the north in the possession of an exulting enemy, and that the American army were entirely without the means essential to their annoyance. His resolution was soon formed, and he decided to attempt the daring and generous work of supplying the Americans with ordnance, however formidable the obstacles that might oppose him.

Young, robust, and vigorous, supported by an undaunted spirit, and a mind ever

fruitful in resources, he commenced his arduous undertaking, almost unattended, toward the close of the year 1775, relying solely for the execution of his object, on such aid as he might procure from the thinly scattered inhabitants of the dreary region through which he had to pass.

Every obstacle, of season, roads, and climate, was surmounted by the determined perseverance of Knox; and, in an exceedingly brief space of time, he returned laden with ordnance, and the stores of war, which had been drawn in defiance of every difficulty, over the frozen lakes and mountains of the north. This achievement was most acceptable to the American troops, and to the commander-in-chief.

On the night of the 4th of March, 1776, a strong detachment crossed Dorchester neck, and labored so incessantly, that two forts were raised before morning. While this work was going on, a heavy fire was kept up, on the town of Boston, from Knox's artillery. It was the intention to man the fortifications on Dorchester Heights with the cannon, and compel the British to surrender.

Just as every thing was on the point of completion, in anticipation of the attack, General Howe decided to abandon the town, and, on the 17th of March, the evacuation took place.

For his services during the investment and siege of Boston, Knox received the most flattering testimonials of approbation from the commander-in-chief, and from Congress. He was appointed to the command of the artillery corps, of which he had laid the foundation, with the rank of colonel; and he continued in this command, constantly increasing his reputation for courage and usefulness, during the revolutionary war. The corps to which he belonged, was principally employed with the main body of the army, under the command of Washington himself, and it was relied on as one of the most valuable auxiliaries in every important engagement.

Colonel Knox accompanied General Washington, in his retreat through New-Jersey, in the fall of 1776, and was attached to the division under him, which attacked the Hessians at Trenton on the night of the 26th of December. His corps rendered efficient service on that occasion, and it was their gall-

ing fire which compelled one thousand of Colonel Rhalle's force to lay down their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners of war.

At the battle of Princeton also, Knox afforded the most satisfactory evidence of his skill and intrepidity. At the most critical period of the war, when the army was in a suffering and inefficient condition, and the people were almost prepared to abandon the attempt to secure their independence, in the midst of trouble and difficulty, of danger and doubt, Knox was one of the few friends on whom Washington placed the greatest reliance. The letters of Knox, which are still extant, though written in the darkest periods of the revolution, breathe a spirit of sincere devotedness to the cause in which he had embarked, and a firm trust in the favor and protection of Divine Providence. From a perusal of these letters, it is evident, that he never yielded to despondency ; but, in the most critical moments of the war, confidently anticipated its triumphant issue.

In the bloody conflict at Brandywine, Knox took an active part. Wherever his

corps could be of service, nothing was wanting on his part that might ensure its efficient co-operation with the other branches of the service. In September, 1780, General Knox, to which rank he had previously been promoted, was a member of the board of officers, to whom the case of Andre was referred. He had accidentally met with that ill-fated officer, during his expedition to Canada, and became deeply interested in his fate. His deportment as a soldier and gentleman, enlisted the warmest sympathies of his heart in his behalf, and he afterwards expressed, on several occasions, his sincere regret that he had been called, by his duty, to act with the tribunal who pronounced his condemnation.

Without derogating from the merits of other officers, it may be safely said, that during the hard-fought battles at Germantown and Monmouth, no officer was more distinguished, than was Knox, for the faithful discharge of the duties of his command. In the very front of the battle, he was seen animating his soldiers, and pointing the thunder of their

cannon. His skill and bravery were so conspicuous on the latter occasion, that he received the particular approbation of the Commander-in-Chief, in general orders issued by him on the day succeeding that of the engagement, in which he says, that "the enemy have done us the justice to acknowledge, that no artillery could be better served than ours." His great exertions, together with the extreme heat of the day, produced the most alarming consequences to his health, which were only counteracted by timely attention. To these more important scenes, the services of Knox were not entirely confined. With a zeal wholly devoted to the cause, he was ever at the post of danger, and prompt to render assistance when it was required. In every field of battle, where Washington fought, Knox was by his side. The confidence of the Commander-in-Chief, inspired by early services, was thus matured by succeeding events. There can be no higher testimony to his merits, than that during a war of so long continuance, passed almost constantly in the presence of Washington, he uniformly

retained his confidence and esteem, which at their separation had ripened into friendship and affection.

The capitulation of Cornwallis at Yorktown, on the 19th of October, 1781, was soon followed by the acknowledgment of American Independence. Almost the last military service performed by Knox, who had been created a major general, for his gallant services at Yorktown, was, to take possession of New York with an American detachment, after its evacuation by the British, on the 25th of November, 1783.

On the 4th of December, General Washington met the principal officers of the army, for the purpose of bidding them farewell. The parting interview with General Knox was deeply affecting. The hour of separation having arrived, Washington, incapable of utterance, grasped the hand of his friend, and embraced him in silence and in tears. His letters to the last moment of his life, contain the most flattering expressions of his unabated friendship. After the surrender of New-York, General Knox was appointed to the command of West Point. It was here,



that he was employed in the delicate and arduous duty of disbanding the army, and inducing a soldiery, disposed to turbulence, by their privations and sufferings, to retire to domestic life, and resume the peaceful character of citizens.

It is a fact, most honorable to the character of General Knox, that by his countenance and support, he rendered the most essential aid to Washington, in suppressing that spirit of usurpation which had been industriously fomented by a few unprincipled and aspiring men, whose aim was, the subjugation of the country to a military government. No hope of political elevation, no flattering assurances of personal aggrandizement, could tempt him to build his greatness on the ruin of his country. After the restoration of peace, General Knox was appointed Secretary of War, by Congress. On the organization of the government under the Federal Constitution, he was continued in the same position by President Washington. The duties of this office were ultimately increased, by having those of the navy attached to them, to the establishment of which, on a sound and libe-



ral footing, his counsel and exertions eminently contributed. One of the greatest men whom our country has produced, has uniformly declared, that he considered America much indebted to his efforts, for the creation of a power which has already so essentially advanced her respectability and fame.

Having remained at the head of the war department for eleven years, General Knox obtained the reluctant consent of Washington to retire from the office, in order that he might devote his time and attention to the claims of a numerous and increasing family. His retirement was in accordance with the wishes of Mrs. Knox, who had accompanied him through the trying vicissitudes of war, and shared with him its toils and perils, and was now desirous of enjoying the tranquil scenes of domestic life. A portion of the large estate of her ancestor, General Waldo, had descended to her, which General Knox increased by subsequent purchases, till it comprised the whole Waldo patent, an extent of thirty miles square, embracing a considerable portion of that section of Maine,

which afterwards formed the counties of Lincoln, Hancock, and Penobscot. To these estates he retired from the concerns of public life, honored as a soldier, and beloved as a man. Much of his time was devoted to the settlement and improvement of the district in which he resided. He was repeatedly induced to take a share in the government of the State, both in the House of Representatives, and in the Council. In 1798, when the repeated injuries and aggressions of the Executive Directory of France called for resistance, he was one of the officers selected to command the American forces which were to be brought into the field. Fortunately for the country, and the world, his services were not required in this capacity.

Retired from the theatre of active life, General Knox still manifested a deep interest in the prosperity of his country. To that portion of it which he had chosen for his residence, his exertions were more immediately directed; but his influence was felt and appreciated, wherever he was known. He died at Montpelier, his seat in Thomas-

ton, on the 25th day of October, 1806, at the age of fifty-six.

The great qualities of General Knox were not merely those of the hero and the statesman; with these were combined those of the elegant scholar, and the accomplished gentleman. His literary acquirements were highly creditable, and procured him the respect and esteem of many educated and intelligent men. There have been those as brave and as learned, but rarely a union of such valor, with so much urbanity—rarely a mind so truly great, and yet so free from ostentation. Philanthropy filled his heart; in his benevolence there was no reserve; it was widely and extensively felt and remembered. His feelings were strong, and exquisitely tender. In the domestic circle, they shone with peculiar lustre; there, the husband, the father, and the friend, beamed in every smile; and if, at any time, a cloud overshadowed his own spirit, he strove to prevent its influence from extending to those who were dear to him. He was frank, generous and sincere, and, in his intercourse with the world, uniformly just. His house was

the seat of elegant hospitality, and his estimate of wealth, was its power of diffusing happiness.

Lord Moira, one of the most distinguished generals of whom England can boast, has spoken in the highest terms of the military genius of General Knox. The Marquis of Chastelleux said: "To praise him for his military talents alone, would be to deprive him of half the eulogium he merits; a man of understanding, well-informed, gay, sincere, and honest, it is impossible to know without esteeming him, or to see without loving him; thus have the English, without intention, added to the ornaments of the human species, by awakening talents, where they least wished or expected."

Chief Justice Marshall, in his life of Washington, thus speaks of Knox: "Throughout the contest of the revolution, this officer had continued at the head of the American artillery; and from being colonel of a regiment, had been promoted to the rank of major general. In this important station, he had preserved a high military character, and, on the resignation of General Lincoln, had been

appointed Secretary of War. To his great services, and to unquestionable integrity, he was admitted to unite a sound understanding; and the public judgment, as well as that of the chief magistrate, pronounced him, in all respects, competent to the station he filled. The President was highly gratified in believing that his public duty comported with his private inclination, in nominating General Knox to the office which had been conferred on him under the former government.



## RICHARD MONTGOMERY.

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*His Birth.—Enters the Army.—Resigns his Commission in the British Army, and emigrates to America.—Settles in New York.—Enters the American Service and appointed a Brigadier General.—Captures St. Johns and Montreal.—Marches to attack Quebec.—Summons the Garrison to Surrender.—Storms the City.—His Death while leading his Troops to the Attack.—All hopes of Success abandoned after this Melancholy Result.—Parallel between the character, conduct and destiny of General Montgomery and General Wolfe.—His remarkable Military Talents.—His disinterested Services in the American Cause.—His noble traits of Character.*

GENERAL MONTGOMERY was born in the north of Ireland, in the year 1738. He was liberally endowed with fine natural powers of mind, which were cultivated and improved by education. In accordance with the inclinations of his genius, he entered the British army early in life, and fought under the

lamented Wolfe, at the siege of Quebec, in 1759. He distinguished himself for his daring and intrepidity on this occasion, and, in after years, he returned to the same spot, to pour out his own life-blood, on the very soil where his leader had perished.

After his return to England, Montgomery continued in the service until 1772, when he voluntarily quitted his regiment, though in a fair way to preferment. During his residence in America, he had become warmly attached to it; and, impressed with the conviction that she must soon become independent of the mother country, he resolved to transfer his allegiance to the other side of the Atlantic. On his arrival in this country, he purchased an estate in New York, about one hundred miles from the city, and soon after married a daughter of Judge Livingston. The outbreak of hostilities found him prepared to enlist in the cause of freedom. Though surrounded by every thing that could render home happy and agreeable, he was ready to sacrifice the felicities which he had but just begun to taste, in order that he might assist in defending the liberties of his



adopted country. His last declaration to his amiable wife—" *You shall never blush for your Montgomery!*"—came from a heart beating high with the emotions of the sincere and devoted patriot. And the noble, true-hearted woman, whose fate was linked with his, was worthy of such a husband. In after years, it was her pride and her joy, to refer to the brilliant achievements of "*her gallant soldier.*"

On the 22d of June, 1775, Montgomery was appointed one of the brigadier generals in the continental service, and, soon after, the command of the northern army was assigned to General Schuyler and himself.

"While the British army was cooped up in Boston," says Allen's Revolution, "without the power of much annoyance to the surrounding country, the Congress conceived the design of sending a force into Canada, for the purpose of putting a stop to the preparations which it was known that General Carleton, the governor of that province, was making, for aiding his majesty's forces on this side of the lakes. For this purpose, Generals Schuyler and Montgomery, with

two regiments of New York militia, and a body of New England men, amounting in the whole to about two thousand men, were ordered to move towards Ticonderoga, which had remained in possession of the Americans, since the expedition of Colonels Arnold and Allen. General Schuyler being detained at Albany, Montgomery proceeded alone to Crown Point, where he received intelligence that several armed vessels, which lay at the fort of St. John's, were preparing to enter Lake Champlain, for the purpose of impeding the passage of his troops. This determined him, though not more than half his troops had arrived, to cross over to the Isle aux Noix, at the entrance of the Sorel, and thus blockade the vessels which lay in that river.

“He had scarcely succeeded in this design, before he was joined by General Schuyler; and it was determined, after publishing a declaration to the Canadians, setting forth their friendly intentions towards them, to proceed immediately against the fort of St. John's. With this view, they proceeded, with their batteaux, for a few miles down the Sorel,

and landed on a swampy ground, through which, with great difficulty, they marched to within two miles of the fort. Here they were suddenly attacked by a party of Indians, which, after a smart skirmish, they dispersed, with a trifling loss, and continued their march; but upon coming within view of the fort, on seeing its strength, General Schuyler, whose force did not amount to a thousand men, thought it prudent to return to the Isle aux Noix, without attempting its reduction. The general, being then obliged to return to Albany, to settle a treaty with the Indians, left the command solely to Montgomery; and never was there a general better qualified for the duties which now devolved upon him. It was absolutely necessary, before he could go against Montreal, that the fort of St. John's should be reduced. It was well provided, and strongly garrisoned.

“The supply of ammunition with which General Montgomery was provided, was much too small to render an immediate siege of St. John's prudent; and he would have been compelled to remain inactive, until too

late in the season to effect his object, but for the information of some Canadians, that the little fortress of Chamblee, which was but feebly garrisoned, contained a good store of that article. He accordingly made himself master of that place, and to his great satisfaction, found one hundred and twenty barrels of powder, besides a large quantity of other military stores and provisions. The expedition against this fortress was conducted by Majors Brown and Livingston. They found here the standard of the seventh regiment, which was immediately sent to the Congress.

“General Montgomery, being thus enabled to carry on the siege of St. John’s, proceeded to erect his works, and to prepare for a general assault. General Carleton, in the mean time, hearing of the situation of St. John’s, prepared to raise a force for its relief. He had posted Colonel McLean, with a regiment of Scotch emigrants, at the mouth of the Sorel; and having raised about a thousand men at Montreal, he attempted to cross at Longueuil, for the purpose of forming a junction, and marching to the relief of St. John’s.

But Colonel Ward, who was stationed at Longueuil, with three hundred Green Mountain Boys, and a small piece of artillery, kept up so warm a fire upon their boats, that the general was glad to return to Montreal. When the news of this repulse reached Montgomery, he sent a flag to Major Preston, who commanded the besieged fortress, summoning him to surrender, as all hope of relief was cut off by Carleton's repulse, and a further resistance could only lead to an useless waste of lives. Major Preston solicited a few days to consider the proposal, being still impressed with the hope that General Carleton might be able to come to his assistance; but, upon his request being refused, he accepted the honorable terms of capitulation which General Montgomery offered to him, and surrendered his garrison prisoners of war. The British officers spoke highly of the polite regard and attention shown to them by Montgomery, who permitted them to wear their swords, and to take off all their baggage and effects. The fort surrendered on the 3d of November."

On the fall of Fort St. John, General Mont-

gomery advanced to Montreal, which was in no condition to oppose him. General Carleton, sensible of his inability to defend it, abandoned the town to its fate, and embarked his men in several vessels, with the intention of escaping down the river to Quebec. General Montgomery entered Montreal on the 12th of November, and a body of provincials, under Colonel Eaton, took post at the mouth of the Sorel, and by means of an armed vessel and floating batteries, commanded the navigation of the St. Lawrence. The British force which had retreated, consisting of about one hundred and twenty soldiers, with several officers, under General Prescott, and accompanied by General Carleton, finding it impracticable to force a passage, surrendered by capitulation. The vessels contained a seasonable supply of provisions, arms, and ammunition, of which the American forces stood greatly in need. About midnight of the day before the capitulation, General Carleton made his escape to Quebec, in a small canoe with muffled oars.

“Many circumstances,” continues Allen’s account of the campaign, “combined to ren-

der the situation of General Montgomery, though a conqueror, extremely unpleasant. The season was far advanced, and the severities of the climate induced many of his men to desert; the time for which many others were enlisted was about to expire; and few were willing to encounter the hardships of a long march through the deep snows of December. Nothing but personal attachment to the noble character of their commander could have kept a single regiment together.

“After new clothing all his men at Montreal, and rendering them in other respects as comfortable as the magazines there would admit of, and having taken the necessary measures to ensure a supply of provisions on the march, the general pushed on through every difficulty, and joined Colonel Arnold, who had marched through the wilderness and arrived before Quebec a short time previous, on the 1st of December. His appearance was a source of great joy to the colonel's troops, as he had not forgotten to bring with him a store of such supplies as he knew them to want.



“Montgomery lost no time after his arrival, in preparing for an immediate attack. The whole of his force did not amount to more than the troops of the garrison ; but he attempted, by assuming an appearance of greater strength, to weaken the confidence of the latter, and thereby accomplish his object without bloodshed. For this purpose, on the 5th of December, he addressed a letter to the governor, in which he urged him, by every argument calculated to produce an effect upon his humanity or his fears, to spare his garrison the dreadful consequences of a storm, by an immediate surrender. General Carleton, however, was too old a soldier to be deceived by appearances ; he knew the difficulties under which Montgomery labored, and was convinced that if his garrison could hold out for a few days, the climate would compel the provincials to abandon the siege. Montgomery’s messenger was fired at, and all communication forbidden.

“In this situation, General Montgomery commenced a bombardment from five small mortars, which he kept up for several days, with the hope of throwing the garrison into



confusion. But it seemed to produce no effect; and a battery of six guns was next opened upon them, at the distance of seven hundred yards, with no better effect. The garrison remained insensible to any impressions of alarm.

“General Montgomery now found himself under circumstances much more delicate and embarrassing than those which had, sixteen years before, environed the hero, Wolfe, at the same spot. Several feet of snow covered the ground; his troops had undergone every hardship that it was possible to suffer, and it seemed now almost impossible for human nature to endure more. He had arrived before Quebec a conqueror; his fame had reached his countrymen, and his commander at Cambridge, and they would expect a continuance of success.” \* \* \* \* “While these feelings and recollections were alternately elevating and depressing his noble spirit, he made a desperate resolution to attempt the enemy’s works by escalade. And such was the skill with which his plan had been formed, that no doubt can remain, that he would ultimately have succeeded, had

not his whole scheme been communicated to the garrison by some scoundrel who deserted him at this critical moment.

“Montgomery soon perceived that the garrison were prepared; and it became necessary to change his whole plan of operations. Having disposed his army into four divisions, two of which he intended should make feigned attacks, while Arnold and himself should be engaged in real attacks upon the opposite sides, before daylight on the 31st of December, in a thick fall of snow, Montgomery advanced at the head of the New Yorkers. Here again his fate resembled Wolfe’s, for before he could reach the place from whence he intended to commence the attack, the signal had been given through mistake, and the whole garrison were alarmed. It was too late now, to make another change in the plan of attack, and Montgomery pushed on. He was compelled to advance through a narrow path, between a precipice and overhanging rocks; he had seized, and passed the first barrier, and was boldly advancing to the second, with a few of his bravest companions, when a discharge

of grape shot from the cannon that were placed there, stopped the progress of this brave and excellent officer, and destroyed the hopes of the enterprise. Upon the fall of the general, the officer upon whom the command of his party devolved, retired without making any attempt to pursue the advantages already gained. Some of his bravest officers had shared the glorious destiny of Montgomery, or Quebec must have fallen, before the united efforts of this party, and that under Arnold."

The following description of the advance of the division under Arnold, is given in Marshall's *Life of Washington*: "Arnold advanced with the utmost intrepidity, against the battery in the other quarters of the city. The alarm was immediately given, and the fire on his flank commenced, which, however, did not prove very destructive. As he approached the barrier, he received a musket ball in the leg, which shattered the bone, and was carried off the field to the hospital. Morgan rushed forward to the battery, at the head of his company, and received from one of the pieces, almost at its mouth, a discharge

of grape shot, which killed only one man. A few rifles were immediately fired into the embrasures, by which a British soldier was wounded in the head, and the barricade being instantly mounted, with the aid of ladders, brought by his men on their shoulders, the battery was deserted, without discharging the other gun. The captain of the guard, with the greater number of his men, fell into the hands of the Americans, and the others made their escape. Morgan formed the troops, consisting of his own company, and a few bold individuals who had pressed forward from other parts of the division, in the streets within the barrier, and took into custody several English and Canadian burghers; but his situation soon became extremely critical. He was not followed by the main body of the division; he had no guide, and was, himself, totally ignorant of the situation of the town. It was yet dark, and he had not the slightest knowledge of the course to be pursued, or of the defences to be encountered. Thus circumstanced, it was thought unadvisable to advance further.

“As the glow, produced by immense exer-

tion, gave way to the cold, which was so intense that they were covered with icicles, and as the ardor, excited by action, subsided, when they were no longer engaged, even this daring party became less animated. While waiting in total ignorance of the fate of the residue of the division, the darkness of the night, the fury of the storm, the scattering fire still kept up by the enemy, principally in their rear, the paucity of their numbers, and the uncertainty concerning their future operations, visibly affected them. It was, after some deliberation, determined to maintain their ground, while Morgan should return to the barrier they had passed, for the purpose of bringing up the troops who were supposed to be still on the other side of it. They were soon joined by Lieutenant Colonel Greene, and Majors Bigelow and Meiggs, with several fragments of companies, so as to constitute, altogether, about two hundred men.

“As the light of day began to appear, this small but gallant party was again formed, with Morgan's company in front; and with one voice, they loudly called on him to lead

them against the second barrier, which was now known to be less than forty paces from them, though concealed by an angle of the street, from their immediate view. Seizing the few ladders brought with them, they again rushed on to the charge, and on turning the angle, were hailed by Captain Anderson, who was just issuing with a body of troops, through the gate of the barricade, for the purpose of attacking the Americans, whom he had expected to find dispersed, and probably plundering the town.

“Morgan, who was in the front, answered his challenge by a ball through his head, and, as he fell, he was drawn within the barricade, and the gate closed upon the assailants, who received, at the same instant, a tremendous fire from the windows overlooking the barrier, and from the port holes through it. Ladders were immediately placed against the barricade, and for some time a fierce contest was maintained, which, on the part of the assailants, was also a bloody one. A few of the bolder, among the front files, ascended the ladders under this deadly fire, and saw, on the other side

of the barricade, double ranks of soldiers, who, with their muskets planted on the ground, presented hedges of bayonets to receive them, if they should attempt to leap to the earth. Exposed thus, in a narrow street, to a most galling fire, many of the assailants threw themselves into the store-houses on each side, which afforded them a shelter, both from the storm and from the enemy, and through the windows of which they kept up an irregular, and not very effective fire.

“One circumstance, which greatly contributed to the irresolution now displaying itself, was, that scarcely more than one in ten of their firearms could be used. Notwithstanding the precaution of tying handkerchiefs around the locks, the violence of the storm had totally unfitted them for service. Morgan soon found himself at the barrier, with only a few officers and a small number of soldiers. Yet he could not prevail on himself to relinquish the enterprise. With a voice louder than the tempest, he called on those who were sheltered in the houses, to



come forth and scale the barrier; but he called in vain. Neither exhortations nor reproaches could draw them in sufficient numbers to the point of attack.

“Being at length compelled to relinquish all hope of success, he ordered the few brave men who still adhered to him, to save themselves in the houses, while he, accompanied by only Lieutenant Heth, returned towards the first barrier, in order to concert with the field officers some plan for drawing off the troops. He soon met Majors Bigelow and Meiggs, to whom he proposed an immediate retreat, by the same route along which they had marched to the attack. This proposition was assented to, and Lieutenant Heth was despatched to draw the troops from their present situation.”

“In Montgomery, the Americans lost one of the bravest and most accomplished generals that ever led an army to the field. But he was not more illustrious for his skill and courage as an officer, than he was estimable for his private virtues. He possessed a mind adorned with every accomplishment, and a



person in which every manly grace shone with conspicuous lustre. His was

'A combination, and a form indeed,  
Where every god did seem to set his seal,  
To give the world assurance of a man.'

"General Montgomery had borne the commission of a colonel in the war of 1759, and was fighting by the side of Wolfe, when that Spartan hero fell. His bravery and his worth were then acknowledged by the British army, and they were proud to regard him as a friend and brother; but, notwithstanding the many professions of attachment and esteem for his character, his body would have been thrown with the heap of slain, uncossined and unmarked, into the same indiscriminate pit, but for the lieutenant governor, who, urged by the solicitations of the lady whom he afterwards married, reluctantly procured a coffin of the roughest sort, and thus, apart from the rest, buried his former friend and companion in arms. From this spot, after mouldering in the grave for more than forty-two years, the bones of this gallant soldier were removed by his fellow citizens of New York, and deposited in a tomb more worthy of him.

“The resemblance in the character, conduct and destiny of Wolfe and Montgomery, is too striking to be passed over without a remark. Montgomery had been in some measure the pupil of Wolfe. In his career of glory, he saw an example worthy of imitation. We have seen the difficulties under which Wolfe had to struggle, and we have seen the noble daring which led him, perhaps against the suggestions of prudence, to attempt to surmount them. He lived, as he expressed himself, but to fight Montcalm on equal ground. This accomplished, he had consummated the only object of his existence, and died ‘content.’ Wolfe was fighting for his king, under the orders of his ministry, and here lies the striking difference in the lives and fortunes of these heroes.

“Montgomery entered on the expedition with the name of a rebel. He ventured his fame, his character, his life, in the service of revolted colonies, but it was to secure to these colonies the enjoyment of liberty, under the rights of the constitution. For this he sacrificed the tender endearments of conjugal felicity; and, at the head of an undisciplined

body of men, placed himself in opposition to a veteran general. The skill which he displayed, was equal to the fortitude which such an enterprise demanded. He had not only to contend against a formidable enemy, but against the severities of a climate to which none of his men were accustomed. His having, in one night, constructed a *battery of ice*, will at once show his military skill and industry, and the intense coldness of the climate. With a discontented, starving and mutinous army, he pushed boldly forward in search of that victory which had cheered the last hours of Wolfe."



# ISRAEL PUTNAM.

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*His Birth-place.—His early indications of Energy and Courage.—Remarkable adventure with a Wolf.—Engages in the French War.—His numerous daring Exploits.—Taken Prisoner by the Indians.—Attempt to Roast him alive.—Taken to Montreal and exchanged,—Early resistance of the aggressions of England.—At the first breaking out of hostilities, enters the American Army at Cambridge.—His gallant conduct at the battle of Bunker Hill, and his many valuable services in the American cause.—Retires to his farm and spends his days with his Family.—His death.—An incident illustrating his humane character.*

ISRAEL PUTNAM, who, through regular promotion, became the senior major general in the army of the United States, and next in rank to Washington, was born at Salem, in the province, now state of Massachusetts, on the 7th day of January, 1718. When a boy, he was distinguished for his courage, enter-

prise, and activity. Although not quarrelsome in his disposition, he was fearless and independent, and not slow to resent an insult. The first time he went to Boston, he was jeered at for his rusticity, by a boy of twice his size and age. After bearing his taunts, until his patience was exhausted, he challenged, engaged, and vanquished his antagonist, to the great diversion of a crowd of spectators.

In the year 1739, he was married, and removed from Salem to Pomfret, an inland fertile town in Connecticut, forty miles east of Hartford. Here he applied himself, with his usual industry and perseverance, to the cultivation of a large tract of land which he had purchased. While diligently engaged in the pursuits of agriculture, he had to encounter, in his turn, all the calamities which are incident to the settlement of a new country. Among other annoyances which seriously disturbed him, was the desolation of his sheepfold by wolves. In one night, he had seventy-five sheep and goats killed, and many lambs and kids wounded, by a ferocious she-wolf, which had for a long time been prowling

ing around the country, the terror and scourge of the neighborhood in which Putnam lived.

“This wolf at length became such an intolerable nuisance, that Putnam entered into a combination with five of his neighbors to hunt alternately, until they could destroy her. Two, by rotation, were to be constantly in pursuit. It was known, that, having lost the toes from one foot by a steel trap, she made one track shorter than the other. By this vestige, the pursuers recognized, in a light snow, the route of this pernicious animal. Having followed her to Connecticut river, and found she had turned back, in a direct course toward Pomfret, they immediately returned, and by ten o'clock the next morning, the blood-hounds had driven her into a den, about three miles distant from the house of Mr. Putnam. The people soon collected, with dogs, guns, straw, fire, and sulphur, to attack the common enemy. With this apparatus, several unsuccessful efforts were made to force her from the den. The hounds came back badly wounded, and refused to return. The smoke of blazing straw

had no effect, nor did the fumes of burnt brimstone, with which the cavern was filled, compel her to quit the retirement. Wearied with such fruitless attempts, which had brought the time to ten o'clock at night, Mr. Putnam tried once more to make his dog enter, but in vain. He proposed to his negro man to go down into the cavern, and shoot the wolf; the negro declined the hazardous service. Then it was that their master, angry at the disappointment, and declaring that he was ashamed to have a coward in his family, resolved himself to destroy the ferocious beast, lest she should escape through some unknown fissure of the rock. His neighbors strongly remonstrated against the perilous enterprise; but he, knowing that wild animals were intimidated by fire, and, having provided several strips of birch bark, the only combustible material which he could obtain, that would afford light in this deep and darksome cave, prepared for his descent. Having, accordingly, divested himself of his coat and waistcoat, and having a long rope fastened round his legs, by which he might be pulled back, at a concerted signal, he en-



tered, head foremost, with the blazing torch in his hand.

“The aperture of the den, on the east side of a very high ledge of rocks, is about two feet square; thence it descends obliquely fifteen feet; then running horizontally about ten more, it ascends gradually sixteen feet toward its termination. The sides of this subterraneous cavity are composed of smooth and solid rocks, which seem to have been divided from each other by some former earthquake. The top and bottom are also of stone, and the entrance, in winter, being covered with ice, is exceedingly slippery. It is in no place high enough for a man to raise himself upright, nor in any part more than three feet in width.

“Having groped his passage to the horizontal part of the den, the most terrifying darkness appeared in front of the dim circle of light afforded by his torch. It was silent as the house of death. None but monsters of the desert had ever before explored this solitary mansion of horror. He, cautiously proceeding onward, came to the ascent, which he slowly mounted on his hands and

knees, until he discovered the glaring eyeballs of the wolf, who was sitting at the extremity of the cavern. Startled at the sight of fire, she gnashed her teeth, and gave a sullen growl. As soon as he had made the necessary discovery, he kicked the rope, as a signal for drawing him out. The people at the mouth of the den, who had listened with painful anxiety, hearing the growling of the wolf, and supposing their friend to be in the most imminent danger, drew him forth with such celerity, that his shirt was stripped over his head, and his skin severely lacerated. After he had adjusted his clothes, and loaded his gun with nine buckshot, holding a torch in one hand and the musket in the other, he descended the second time. When he drew nearer than before, the wolf, assuming a still more fierce and terrible appearance, howling, rolling her eyes, snapping her teeth, and dropping her head between her legs, was evidently in the attitude, and on the point of springing at him. At this critical instant, he levelled and fired at her head. Stunned with the shock, and suffocated with the smoke, he immediately found

himself drawn out of the cave. But having refreshed himself, and permitted the smoke to dissipate, he went down the third time. Once more he came within sight of the wolf, who appearing very passive, he applied the torch to her nose; and perceiving her dead, he took hold of her ears, and then kicking the rope, still tied round his legs, the people above, with no small exultation, dragged them both out together."

On the breaking out of the French and Indian war, in 1755, Putnam was appointed to the command of a company among the first troops levied in Connecticut. The regiment to which he was attached, joined the army at the commencement of the campaign, not far distant from Crown Point. Soon after his arrival in camp, he became intimately acquainted with the famous partizan Captain, afterwards Major, Rogers, with whom he had many daring adventures in traversing the wilderness, reconnoitering the enemy's posts, and surprising stragglers from their lines. On one occasion, Rogers and Putnam were detached, with a party of rangers, to obtain accurate information in regard

to the position and state of the works at Crown Point. As it was impossible for their whole force to proceed within the vicinity of the fort, on account of the swarms of hostile Indians which infested the woods, the two leaders cautiously advanced alone, in the night, and, early in the morning, approached so close as to be able to make all necessary discoveries. Just as they were on the point of retiring, Captain Rogers, being at a little distance from Putnam, unexpectedly met a stout Frenchman, who instantly seized his fusee with one hand, and with the other attempted to stab him, at the same time calling to the guard for assistance. Perceiving the imminent danger of his friend, and that no time was to be lost, or further alarm given, Putnam ran rapidly to the combatants, while still struggling with each other, and with the butt end of his piece laid the Frenchman dead at his feet. The two officers at once joined their party, and returned without loss to the encampment.

The time of enlistment of the colonial troops expired with the campaign, but Putnam was re-appointed, and again took the

field in 1756. While stationed in the neighborhood of Ticonderoga, he was directed to reconnoiter the enemy's camp at the Ovens, near that fort. Taking Lieutenant Durkee with him, as his companion, he proceeded to execute his orders, in which he came very near losing his own life, and taking that of his friend. It was customary for the French and Indians, contrary to the practice of the English and Provincials, to place their fires in the centre of their camp, lodge their men circularly at a distance, and post their sentinels in the surrounding darkness. Putnam and his lieutenant approached the camp, and, supposing the sentries were within the circle of fires, crept along upon their hands and knees, with great caution, until they suddenly found themselves in the midst of the enemy. They were discovered by the sentinels, who fired, and wounded Durkee in the thigh. Both officers turned and ran. The night was exceedingly dark, and Putnam, being foremost, soon plunged into a clay-pit. The lieutenant, almost at the same instant, came tumbling upon his friend, who, believing the intruder to be one of the ene-

my, lifted his tomahawk to give him a deadly blow, when his arm was arrested by the sound of Durkee's voice, inquiring whether he was hurt. They then sprang from the pit, and made good their retreat, amid a shower of random shot, to the neighboring ledges, where they spent the remainder of the night by a large log. Before lying down, Putnam said he had a little rum in his canteen, which could never be more acceptable; but, on examination, he found that the enemy had pierced the vessel with their balls, and that there was not a drop of liquor left. The next day he discovered fourteen bullet holes in his blanket.

In the summer of 1756, a large body of the enemy having attacked and plundered a provision train, between Fort Edward and the south end of Lake George, General Webb ordered Captains Putnam and Rogers, to take one hundred volunteers in boats, with two wall pieces, and two blunderbusses, and proceed down to Lake George, for the purpose of harrassing, or intercepting them on their retreat. These orders were executed with so much promptitude that the party ar-

rived at the appointed spot half an hour before the hostile boats came in sight.

As soon as they entered the narrows, the volunteers poured into them volley after volley, killed many of the oarsmen, sunk a number of the batteaux, and could have destroyed the remainder, if a favorable wind had not carried them into the bay, out of the range of musket shot. On their return, the force under Putnam and Rogers met a detachment sent out to intercept them, consisting of three hundred men. Both parties were in boats. That of the enemy was so much the stronger that they felt confident of success. They were allowed to approach within pistol shot, when such a terrible raking fire was opened upon them from the wall pieces and blunderbusses, that they were soon completely routed, and driven back to Ticonderoga. The loss of the French and Indians was very great; in one canoe, fifteen out of twenty Indians were killed. Putnam and Rogers had but one man killed and two wounded.

Soon after this affair, Putnam was sent to seize a prisoner, in order to procure intelli-



gence. He was accompanied by five men, whom he concealed near the road leading from Ticonderoga to the Ovens. Contrary to his express orders, some of the party were constantly exposing their persons. On his reprimanding them, they attributed his extreme caution to fear, but they immediately had an opportunity of testing their courage with his. They had only lain a short time in the grass, when a Frenchman and Indian passed along the road, the latter being considerably in advance. Putnam instantly sprang up and started in pursuit, ordering his men to follow him. After running about thirty rods, he seized the Frenchman by the shoulders and forced him to surrender. On turning round however, and discovering that his opponent was alone, and the Indian within hailing distance, the prisoner began to make an obstinate attempt to free himself. Putnam, finding that his men had all betrayed him, let go his hold, stepped back and snapped his piece at the Frenchman's breast, but it unfortunately missed fire. He then turned and ran, with his late prisoner close at his heels. The presence of his party, who



now began to show themselves, prevented his being overtaken. He then dismissed his men in disgrace, and, not long after, accomplished the object.

In the same year, Putnam was accidentally with a boat and five men, on the eastern side of the Hudson river, near the spot where Fort Miller stood, and in the immediate vicinity of the falls, when he was suddenly informed, by a signal made by some of his soldiers on the opposite bank, that a large body of Indians were advancing to surround him. The danger was imminent, and there was not a moment to lose. He had three alternatives from which to choose; to remain, fight, and be sacrificed; to cross to the opposite shore, in full range of the enemy's fire; or to sail down the water-falls, with almost a certainty of being overwhelmed, as the river was high and full of rocks. Putnam did not hesitate, but jumped into the boat at the fortunate moment, as one of his men was taken by the Indians, who arrived in time to discharge their guns at the boat before he could get out of their reach.

“No sooner had he escaped this danger,

through the rapidity of the current, than death presented itself under a more terrific form. Rocks, whose points projected above the surface of the water ; large masses of timber that nearly closed the passage ; absorbing gulfs, and rapid descents for a quarter of a mile, left him no hope of escape but by a miracle. Putnam placed himself at the helm, and directed the boat with the utmost tranquility. His companions saw him with admiration, terror, and astonishment, avoid, with the utmost address, the rocks and threatening gulfs which they every instant expected to destroy him. He disappeared, rose again, and, directing his course through the only passage which he could possibly make, he at length gained the even surface of the river at the bottom of this dreadful cascade." The Indians were filled with amazement and awe ; they considered Putnam as invulnerable, and thought that they would offend the Great Spirit by attempting the life of a man evidently under his protection.

In 1757 Putnam was promoted to the rank of major, and, in the winter of that

year, "when Colonel Haviland was commandant of Fort Edward, the barracks adjoining to the northwest bastion took fire. They extended within twelve feet of the magazine, which contained three hundred barrels of powder. On its first discovery, the fire raged with great violence. The commandant endeavored, in vain, by discharging some pieces of heavy artillery against the supporters of this flight of barracks, to level them with the ground. Putnam arrived from the island where he was stationed, at the moment when the blaze approached that end which was contiguous to the magazine. Instantly, a vigorous attempt was made to extinguish the conflagration. A way was opened by a postern gate to the river, and the soldiers were employed in bringing water, which he, having mounted on a ladder to the eaves of the building, received and threw upon the flame. It continued, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, to gain upon them. He stood, enveloped in smoke, so near the sheet of fire that a pair of thick blanket-mittens were burnt entirely off his hands, when he was supplied with another pair dip-

ped in water. Colonel Haviland, fearing that he would perish in the flames, called to him to come down. But he entreated that he might be suffered to remain, since destruction must inevitably ensue if their exertions should be remitted. The gallant commandant, not less astonished than charmed at the boldness of his conduct, forbade any more effects to be carried out of the fort, animated the men to redoubled diligence, and exclaimed: 'If we must be blown up, we will all go together.' At last, when the barracks were seen to be trembling, Putnam descended, placed himself at the interval, and continued, from an incessant rotation of replenished buckets, to pour water upon the magazine. The outside planks were already consumed by the proximity of the fire, and as only one thickness of timber intervened, the trepidation now became general and extreme. Putnam, still undaunted, covered with a cloud of cinders, and scorched with the intensity of the heat, maintained his position until the fire subsided, and the danger was wholly over. He had contended, for one hour and a half, with that terrible element. His legs,

his thighs, his arms, and his face were blistered; and when he pulled off his second pair of mittens, the skin from his hands and fingers followed them. It was a month before he recovered. The commandant, to whom his merits had before endeared him, could not stifle the emotions of gratitude due to the man who had been so instrumental in preserving the magazine, the fort, and the garrison."

A few days before the siege of Fort William Henry, Major Putnam was sent out to reconnoitre the position of the enemy at Ticonderoga. He discovered the advance of the forces destined for the reduction of the former post, and narrowly escaped being captured. On his return, he informed General Webb of what he had seen, and intimated his conviction, that the expedition was intended for the attack of Fort William Henry; at the same time expressing the hope that the enemy would be met, should they presume to land. The General thought proper to disregard Putnam's advice, and enjoined the strictest secrecy upon him. In a short time he returned to the head quarters

of the army, accompanied by Putnam, and contented himself with sending Colonel Monro, with his regiment, to re-inforce the garrison.

In the month of August, Majors Rogers and Putnam were sent with a detachment of five hundred men, to watch the motions of the enemy near Ticonderoga. Upon being discovered, they determined to return to Fort Edward. They commenced their march through the woods, in three divisions, by files; Putnam being in front; Captain D'Ell in the centre; and Rogers in the rear. Just as Putnam was emerging from the thicket, into the common forest, he was attacked by a body of French and Indians, five hundred strong, under the famous partizan, Molang. The enemy had been lying in ambuscade, and their sudden appearance, together, with their discordant yells, took Putnam's men by surprise; but, inspired by the dauntless conduct of their leader, they soon rallied, and rushed into the conflict, full of spirit and enthusiasm. As it was impossible to retreat across the creek in his rear, Putnam determined to maintain his ground, and word was

passed for the other divisions to advance to his support. Capt. D'Ell at once came forward with his men, but Major Rogers continued still in the rear. From the nature of the ground, the combatants mainly fought hand to hand, or concealed behind the bushes and trees. Officers and men were mingled promiscuously in the thickest of the fight. Putnam had discharged his fusee several times, when it missed fire, at the very moment when it was pressed against the breast of a large and muscular savage. The warrior at once sprang forward with a tremendous war-whoop, and lifting his hatchet, compelled him to surrender. He was immediately disarmed, and bound fast to a tree. Captains D'Ell and Harman, who succeeded to the command, were forced temporarily to give ground. The savages rushed impetuously forward, but met with such a warm reception, that they were obliged, in turn, to fall back a short distance beyond the spot where the action commenced. This left Putnam exposed to the fire of both parties. The balls flew incessantly from either side; many struck the tree, while some passed through



the sleeves and skirts of his coat. He remained in this position more than an hour. In the heat of the action, a young Indian amused himself, by endeavoring to terrify Putnam, whose arms were so securely bound, that he could have been dispatched in an instant, without difficulty. Standing a few paces distant, the savage repeatedly hurled his tomahawk in the direction of Putnam's head, though careful not to hit it; the weapon buried itself several times in the tree, within a hair's breadth of the apparent mark. The gallantry of D'Ell and Harman, and their brave followers, finally forced the enemy to retire, leaving ninety of their number dead on the field.

In the retreat of the Indians, Putnam was unbound by the warrior who captured him, and whom he afterwards called master, and obliged to accompany them. After travelling some distance, he was stripped of his coat, vest, stockings and shoes. He was then loaded with as many of the packs of the wounded as could be piled on him, strongly pinioned, and his wrists firmly secured with a cord. In this condition, he marched many



a weary mile, until the party halted to breathe. His hands were now dreadfully swelled, and his feet lacerated to such a degree, that the blood dropped from them at every step. Exhausted from the weight of his burden, and maddened with pain, he entreated the interpreter who accompanied them, to implore the savages to kill him, and take his scalp at once. A French officer instantly interposed, ordered him to be unbound, and some of the packs taken off. Soon afterward, the Indian who captured him came up, and gave him a pair of moccasins. He also expressed his deep indignation at the treatment his prisoner had received. He then returned to the care of the wounded, and Putnam was again hurried forward, in company with the other Indians, about two hundred in number, to the place where the whole force were to encamp for the night. On the route, among other outrages committed on him, a deep wound was inflicted in his cheek, with a tomahawk. Arrived at their destination, his tormentors determined to roast him alive. For this purpose, they led him into a dark forest,

stripped him naked, bound him to a tree, and piled dry brush, with other fuel, at a small distance, in a circle round him. They accompanied their labors with the most horrid screams; and having completed them, the piles were set on fire. A shower of rain dampened the wood, but they succeeded in kindling it, and the blaze ran fiercely round the circle. Putnam soon began to feel the scorching heat; but, neither the terrors of the scene, nor the many painful thoughts which crowded upon his mind, subdued his spirit; and, with unshrinking fortitude and resolution, he prepared to meet the horrid fate which seemed to await him. At this moment, a French officer rushed through the crowd, scattered the burning brands, and unbound the victim. This proved to be Molang himself, who had been informed of his situation by a friendly Indian. He remained with Putnam until his master arrived, and severely reprimanded the savages for their cruelty and barbarity.

The warrior by whom Putnam had been captured, treated him with marked kindness, but was very careful not to afford him an op-

portunity to escape. After finishing their evening meal, he took the moccasins from Putnam's feet and tied them to his wrists. Then directing his prisoner to lie down on his back, upon the ground, he stretched his arms to their full length and bound them fast to separate trees. His feet were fastened to two saplings in a similar manner. This done, a quantity of tall, slender poles were cut down, which, with some long bushes, were laid across his body from head to foot, and a number of Indians lay on each side of him, in order to prevent the possibility of his escape.

In this ludicrous, though painful position, Putnam was compelled to pass the night. The next day he was allowed a blanket and moccasins, and permitted to march without carrying a pack, or receiving any insult. At night they arrived at Ticonderoga, where he was placed in charge of a French guard. The enraged savages manifested their disappointment, by their angry looks and gestures; but they were not suffered to offer farther violence or indignity to him.

After having been examined by the Mar-

quis De Montcalm, Major Putnam was conducted to Montreal by a French officer, who treated him with kindness and humanity. At this place, he was visited by Colonel Peter Schuyler, who, like himself, was detained as a prisoner. He had no sooner heard of the sufferings Putnam had undergone, than he made them the subject of indignant complaint to the proper authorities, and the major was afterwards treated according to his rank. The capture of Frontenac by General Bradstreet, was followed by an exchange of prisoners. Colonel Schuyler was included in the cartel, and by practicing a little innocent deception upon the French governor, he obtained the release of Putnam, who was soon after promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel, and took an active part, under General Amherst, in the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

In 1760 General Amherst planned an expedition against Canada, which terminated in the complete subjugation of the province. Lieutenant Colonel Putnam accompanied the division under the command of Amherst himself, which, after passing up the Mohawk

river, and taking its course by Lake Ontario, formed a conjunction with the other divisions, by falling down the St. Lawrence. While on the route, two armed vessels obstructed the passage and prevented an attack on the fort at Oswegatchie. Colonel Putnam, with one thousand men, in fifty batteaux, undertook to board them. Providing himself with a beetle and wedges, he placed himself in the van, with a chosen crew, determined to approach the vessels, and wedge their rudders, so that they should not be able to turn their broadsides on his boats.

The men in his little fleet were ordered to strip to their waistcoats, and, in this condition, they advanced at the same time. The persons on board the vessels became alarmed and ran them ashore, without striking a blow in their defence.

The fort itself was now the object of attack. It seemed to have been rendered inaccessible by a high abattis of black ash, but Putnam proposed a plan for its capture, and offered his services to carry it into effect. The execution of the undertaking was entrusted to him, and he immediately prepared

a number of boats, and surrounded them with fascines, which afforded a complete covering to his men. Each boat was then provided with a plank, prepared in such a manner that it could be used as a bridge in passing over the abattis. Thus equipped, the boats advanced in admirable order. The garrison, however, did not choose to await the assault, but capitulated.

Colonel Putnam was highly complimented by General Amherst for his services on this occasion. He continued with the army until the close of the war; and, after the rupture between Great Britain and Spain, in 1762, accompanied the expedition under Lord Albemarle, against Havana. Putnam commanded a regiment of troops from Connecticut, and arrived safely on the coast of Cuba. There he was unfortunately wrecked, in a storm, on a rift of craggy rocks. He at once caused a number of rafts to be constructed, and landed his men in safety, thus saving a great number of lives by his unequalled determination, and presence of mind.

After landing his men, Putnam fortified his camp, and remained in that position,

until the storm abated, when he joined the troops before Havana. The unhealthy climate made sad inroads in the ranks of his regiment, and he soon returned to his native land.

The hostilities committed by the savages on the western frontier, in 1764, were so aggravated, that an army under General Bradstreet, was sent against them. Putnam, who had been promoted to the rank of Colonel, accompanied him with his regiment. Previous to their arrival at Detroit, which the Indians had invested, Captain D'Ell, the faithful friend and fellow soldier of Colonel Putnam, was killed in a desperate sally. The presence of General Bradstreet, with a large force, overawed the savage tribes, and they afterwards concluded a treaty, which terminated the war in America. Colonel Putnam returned home, and, having laid aside his uniform, again applied himself to the cultivation of his farm. He had been almost constantly engaged in military operations for the last ten years, had endured as many hardships, encountered as many dangers, and acquired as many laurels, as any



other officer of his rank ; and he was anxious to enjoy the quiet and repose of domestic life. After his return home, he was repeatedly chosen to fill different offices by his fellow townsmen, and often represented them in the general assembly. In 1765, while he was a member of that body, the odious stamp act was passed, and received the royal assent. Colonel Putnam was soon after deputed, with two other gentlemen, to wait on Mr. Fitch, the governor of Connecticut, in relation to the stamped paper which was shortly expected to arrive. After some conversation, the governor asked, "What shall I do, if the stamped paper should be sent to me by the king's authority?" Putnam replied—"Lock it up until we visit you again." "And what will you do then?" inquired His Excellency. "We shall expect you," said the resolute Putnam, "to give us the key of the room in which it is deposited ; and if you think fit, in order to screen yourself from blame, you may forewarn us, upon our peril, not to enter the room." "And what will you do afterwards?" "Send it safely back again." "But if I should refuse



admission," suggested the Governor. "In such a case," says Putnam, "your house will be levelled with the dust in five minutes." This conversation was noised abroad, and the stamped paper was never sent from New-York to Connecticut.

While the storm was gathering, which plunged the country into the war of the Revolution, Putnam was among the first to welcome its fury. Not one of the bold spirits who resisted the tyrannical usurpations of the English ministry, was more fearless than himself. In the midst of the discontent, he frequently visited Boston, and conversed upon the grievances of the colonies, with General Gage, Lord Percy, Colonel Small, and other officers, whom he had previously known. On one occasion, being asked by them, "what part he would take, in case the dispute should proceed to hostilities?" He promptly answered—"with my country, and happen what may, I am prepared to abide the consequences." When he was referred to the skill and discipline of the British fleets and armies, the effects of which he had often witnessed, he rejoined, that in case of a

contest, "justice would be on our side, and the event with Providence ; but that he had calculated, if it required six years for the combined forces of England and her colonies to conquer such a feeble country as Canada, it would, at least, take a very long time for England alone to overcome her widely extended colonies, which were so much stronger than Canada." At another time, the question was put to him, "whether he did not seriously believe that a well appointed British army of five thousand veterans, could march through the whole continent of America?" He replied, with much spirit: "No doubt, if they behaved civilly, and paid well for every thing they wanted; but," he added, after a moment's pause, "if they should attempt it in a hostile manner, though the American men were out of the question, the women, with their ladles and broomsticks, would knock them all on the head before they had got half way through!"

- The news of the battle of Lexington reached Putnam while at work on his farm. He instantly unyoked his team, left his plough in the middle of the field, and, without wait-

ing to change his clothes, set out for the scene of war. Arrived there, he found that the British had retreated to Boston, which was already invested by the militia, and he then returned to Connecticut, levied a regiment under the authority of the legislature, and marched them to Cambridge. He was now promoted to the rank of major general by his colony, and on the 22d day of June, 1775, received the same appointment from the Continental Congress. About this time a proposition was made to Putnam, from the British commander-in-chief, to relinquish his commission in the provincial service, on condition that he should be appointed a major general in the English army, and receive a large pecuniary compensation for his loyalty. He indignantly spurned the offer, and redoubled his efforts in behalf of his injured countrymen.

At the battle of Bunker-hill, which occurred on the 17th of June, 1775, General Putnam rendered efficient service. On the evening of the 16th, he proceeded with a detachment of one thousand men to Breed's Hill, where a breastwork and redoubt were

formed under his immediate superintendence, assisted by Colonel Prescott, and Captain Knowlton. About four in the morning, the works were observed by the captain of a British sloop of war, lying in the river Charles, who instantly began a heavy fire upon them, and was soon joined by the other ships in the harbor, and by the battery on Copp's Hill, in Boston. The Americans fearlessly continued their labors, amidst an incessant shower of balls and bombs. As this post overlooked Boston, it was necessary for the safety of the British force that the Americans should be dislodged. Soon after mid-day a detachment under the command of Generals Howe and Pigot, crossed the river in boats, and landed near the point of the peninsula on which Breed's Hill is situated. Observing the strong position of the Americans, General Howe waited for a reinforcement, which soon arrived. In the meantime, the Americans received an accession of strength under Generals Warren and Pomeroy, who crossed Charlestown neck, under a brisk cannonade from the shipping in the rivers. By this arrival, the provincial force was increa-

sed to about one thousand and five hundred. The British detachment, consisting of upward of two thousand men, advanced with considerable confidence to the attack. At the same time, Charlestown, a thriving place, containing about three hundred wooden houses, besides other buildings, was set on fire by the left wing of the British force, under General Pigot, and entirely consumed. The rising flames contributed a great deal to heighten the grandeur and solemnity of the scene.

Secure behind their entrenchments, the Americans reserved their fire, in obedience to the commands of Putnam, and waited the approach of the British, till they could see the whites of their eyes; when they poured upon them an uninterrupted and well directed fire of musketry. Twice the enemy were repulsed and driven to their boats, when Sir Henry Clinton opportunely arrived, and led them back to a third and more successful attack, in which they entered the American lines, with fixed bayonets. The colonists had now nearly exhausted their powder, and

their fire slackened. Being ill provided with bayonets, they were unprepared for a close encounter, but they met the British with clubbed muskets, and manfully stood their ground, until their lines were enfiladed by artillery, and the redoubt half filled with British regulars, when they were compelled to retreat, leaving the brave General Warren dead on the field. The enemy pursued the provincials to Winter's Hill. Here Putnam made a stand, and drove them back under cover of their ships. This was a severe battle, and extremely destructive to the British. Nearly one half of their detachment fell. At one time General Howe was left standing alone, every officer and soldier near him having been killed or wounded. According to the return made by General Gage, the British lost one thousand and fifty-four men in killed and wounded. The American loss in killed, wounded and missing, was four hundred and fifty-three.

After this engagement, the British entrenched themselves on Bunker's Hill; and the Americans on Prospect Hill, a short dis-

tance in front of them. On the 2d of July, General Washington arrived at Cambridge, and the army was soon after divided into three grand divisions. General Putnam was appointed to command the reserve. In March, 1776, he was ordered to the city of New York, where he was constantly engaged in strengthening the works in the vicinity, until the arrival of the commander-in-chief, in April. During the summer, the troops on Long Island, were commanded by General Greene, who was taken sick two days before the battle of Flatbush. General Putnam then assumed the command, but remained within the lines, while the movements to prevent the advance of the British were principally made under the direction of General Sullivan. After the retreat from the island, General Putnam remained in New York until the evacuation of that city. While the army were retiring up the North river, his activity and perseverance went very far to ensure the safety of the division under his command. In October he was sent to the western side of the river, to provide

against an irruption into the Jerseys, and soon after proceeded to Philadelphia, to put that city in a state of defence.

In January, 1777, General Putnam was directed to take post at Princeton, where he continued until the spring. While here, his force was so much reduced, on one occasion, that he had fewer men for duty than he had miles of territory to guard. At this very time, a sick prisoner, who was a captain in the British army, requested permission to send to New Brunswick, where the enemy then lay, for a friend, also an officer, to assist in preparing his will. Putnam was much perplexed. He had but fifty men under his command; and, while he did not wish to have his weakness known, he was anxious to comply with the request of his prisoner. He sent a flag of truce, however, and directed the officer to be brought in the night. In the evening lights were placed in all the college windows, and in every apartment of the vacant houses throughout the town. The British officer, on his return, reported that the force under General Putnam, could



not consist of less than four or five thousand men. The prisoner himself, was very grateful to the general, for his kindness. One day, in the course of a familiar conversation, the captain, who was a Scotchman by birth, said to General Putnam, "Pray, sir, what countryman are you?" "An American," answered Putnam. "Not a Yankee?" exclaimed the other. "A full blooded one," was the reply. "I am sorry for it," returned the captain; "I did not think there could be so much goodness and generosity in an American, or, indeed, in any body but a Scotchman."

In the spring of 1777, General Putnam was assigned to the command of a separate army in the highlands of New York. Shortly after his arrival, one Palmer, a lieutenant in the new tory levies, was detected in his camp. Governor Tryon reclaimed him as a British officer, and threatened to retaliate, if he was not restored. General Putnam returned the following pithy and laconic reply to the menacing message:

"SIR:—Nathan Palmer, a lieutenant in your king's service, was taken in my camp

as a *spy* ; he was tried as a *spy*, he was condemned as a *spy*, and you may rest assured, sir, he shall be hanged as a *spy*.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

ISRAEL PUTNAM.

His Excellency, GOVERNOR TRYON.

P. S. Afternoon. He is hanged."

After the loss of forts Clinton and Montgomery, which was entirely owing to the want of men, as decided by a court of inquiry, and not to any negligence of General Putnam, it was determined to erect another fortress on the Hudson. The selection of a site was committed to Putnam, who fixed upon West Point. The wisdom of his choice was confirmed by the British commanders themselves, who regarded the fort as the American Gibraltar, and never attempted its capture, except through treachery.

In the fall of 1778, General Putnam was stationed for the winter at Reading, Connecticut, in order to protect the country adjoining the sound, and support the garrison at West Point, in case of an attack. About the middle of the winter, while on a visit to his out-post at Horseneck, he found the offi-

cer in command exceedingly careless in the discharge of his duty, and on the point of being surprised by Governor Tryon, who was advancing on the town with a force of fifteen hundred men. To oppose them, Putnam had only a picquet of one hundred and fifty men, and two iron field pieces, without horses or drag ropes. He planted his cannon on the high ground, and retarded the approach of the enemy by firing several times, when, perceiving that they were about to charge, he ordered the picquet to provide for their safety by retiring to a swamp, inaccessible to horse, and secured his own by plunging down a precipice, at full trot.

“The precipice is so steep, where he descended, as to have artificial stairs, composed of nearly one hundred stone steps, for the accommodation of foot passengers. There the dragoons, who were but a sword’s length from him, stopped short, for the declivity was so abrupt that they dared not follow; and, before they could gain the valley by going round the brow of the hill, in the ordinary road, he was far enough beyond their reach. He continued his route unmolested, to Stam-

ford; from whence, having strengthened his picquet by a junction with some militia, he came back again, and, in turn, pursued Governor Tryon in his retreat. As he rode down the precipice, one ball of the many fired at him, went through his beaver, but Governor Tryon, by way of compensation for spoiling his clothes, sent him, soon afterwards, a complete suit as a present."

In the campaign of 1779, which closed General Putnam's military career, he commanded the Maryland line, posted at the Buttermilk falls, about two miles below West Point. His time was principally spent in completing and strengthening the fortifications. When the army retired to Morristown for the purpose of going into winter quarters, he went to Connecticut to spend a few weeks with his family. On his return, in December, while on the road between Pomfret and Hartford, he was attacked with a paralytic stroke, which deprived him of the use of his limbs, and compelled him to retire from the army.

"The remainder of the life of General Putnam, was passed in quiet retirement, with

his family. He experienced few interruptions in his bodily health, except the paralytic debility with which he was afflicted; retained the full possession of his mental faculties; and enjoyed the society of his friends, until the 17th of May, 1790, when he was violently attacked with an inflammatory disease. Satisfied, from the first, that it would prove mortal, he was calm and resigned, and welcomed the approach of death with joy, as a messenger sent to call him from a life of toil to everlasting rest. On the 19th of May, 1790, he ended a life which had been spent in cultivating and defending the soil of his birth, in the seventy-third year of his age."

Though inured to scenes of cruelty and bloodshed, General Putnam was kind and tender in his disposition. Faithful to his country, always reliable, tried and true, he closed his long and eventful career, full of years, and full of honor.



## JOHN STARK.

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*His Birth-place.—Taken Captive and adopted by the Indians, in his youth.—Commands a company in the old French and Indian War.—Early espouses the American Cause, and appointed Colonel.—Battle of Bunker Hill, and his Brave Conduct; also at Trenton.—Receives the appointment of Brigadier General.—Stays upon the rear and harasses Burgoyne.—Brilliant Victory of Bennington.—Receives a vote of thanks from Congress.—Surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga.—Retires from the army at the close of the war, and devotes himself to peaceful pursuits.—His death.*

GENERAL STARK was born at Londonderry, in New Hampshire, on the 17th day of August, 1728. He resided in a district of country exposed to the incursions of the savages, and he was early accustomed to the scenes of war. While yet a child, he was taken prisoner by the Indians, adopted by them, and remained some years in captivity. Plain,

honest, and upright, in his life and character, he was highly respected and esteemed by his friends and acquaintances. Though deficient in education, and in the refinements of polished society, he possessed a warm, true heart, united to a natural readiness of mind and apprehension, which went far to compensate for the lack of other qualities, and secured him a very respectable standing in the estimation of the community to which he belonged.

During the French and Indian war, in 1755, Stark commanded a company of rangers in the provincial service, and was often complimented for the zeal and efficiency he displayed in that capacity. At the commencement of the difficulties with Great Britain, he took a firm and decided stand with the colonies. Accustomed from his infancy to indulge the free and generous impulses which were so natural to his condition in life, he could not brook the idea of being taxed against his will, merely to gratify the wishes of a distant king and his ministers. He was busily at work in his saw mill when the report of the struggle at Lexington reach-



ed him. All work was ended in an instant. Fired with a just and manly indignation, he immediately seized his musket, and with a band of similar spirits who hastily gathered around him, he departed for Cambridge.

On the morning after his arrival, he received a colonel's commission, and, such was his popularity, and the enthusiasm of the people, that in less than two hours he enlisted a force of eight hundred men. He was present at the memorable battle of Bunker Hill, on the 17th of June, 1775, and, with the brave and hardy backwoodsmen, who followed him from New Hampshire, aided in pouring upon the enemy that deadly fire which effected so much destruction in their ranks.

The same spirit which animated Stark was shared by the citizens of his native state. The call of Congress was responded to with alacrity, and hundreds of the resolute and courageous young men of the province joined the American army. Such was the zeal and promptitude displayed in that section of the confederacy, that General Burgoyne afterwards remarked in one of his letters, "that

the Hampshire Grants, almost unknown in the last war, now abound in *the most active and most rebellious race* on the continent, and hung like a gathering storm upon my left." Colonel Stark rendered good service in rallying the energies of his fellow citizens, who seconded his efforts with all the means at their command.

In 1776, Colonel Stark accompanied the army under General Washington on its rapid retreat through New Jersey. He was also engaged in the enterprise against Trenton, and displayed unequalled gallantry and daring on that occasion. General Wilkinson, in his account of the engagement, pays Stark the following compliment: "I must not withhold due praise from the dauntless Stark, who dealt death wherever he found resistance, and broke down all opposition before him." Not long after this affair, he became dissatisfied, in consequence of some of the proceedings of Congress, which he thought were unjust so far as they affected himself, and quitted the continental service.

From Belknap's History of New Hampshire, and Williams' History of Vermont, we ga-

ther the following incidents in his subsequent career : " When he was urged by the government of New Hampshire, to take the command of their militia, he refused, unless he should be left at liberty to serve or not, under a continental officer, as he should judge proper. It was not a time for debate, and it was known that the militia would follow wherever Stark would lead. The assembly therefore invested him with a separate command, and gave him orders 'to repair to Charlestown, on Connecticut river; there to consult with a committee of the New Hampshire Grants, respecting his future operations, and the supply of his men with provisions; to take the command of the militia, and march into the Grants; to act in conjunction with the troops of that new state, or any other of the states, or of the United States, or separately, as it should appear expedient to him, for the protection of the people, and the annoyance of the enemy.'

" Agreeably to his orders, Stark proceeded in a few days to Charlestown: his men very readily followed; and as fast as they arrived, he sent them forward to join the troops of

Vermont, under Colonel Warner, who had taken his situation at Manchester. At that place he joined Warner with about eight hundred men from New Hampshire, and found another body of men from Vermont, who put themselves under his command, when he found himself at the head of fourteen hundred men. Most of them had been in the two former campaigns, were well officered, and in every respect a body of very good troops. General Schuyler repeatedly urged Stark to join the troops under his command, but he declined complying. He was led to this conduct, not only by the reasons which have been mentioned, but by a difference of opinion as to the best method of opposing Burgoyne. Schuyler wished to collect all the American troops in the front, to prevent Burgoyne from marching on to Albany. Stark was of opinion that the surest way to check Burgoyne, was to have a body of men on his rear, ready to fall upon him in that quarter, whenever a favorable opportunity should present. The New England militia had not formed a high opinion of Schuyler, as a general; and Stark meant

to keep himself in a situation in which he might embrace any favorable opportunity for action, either in conjunction with him, or otherwise; and with that view intended to hang on the rear of the British troops, and embrace the first opportunity which should present, to make an attack upon that quarter. But Stark assured Schuyler, that he would join in any measures necessary to promote the public good, but wished to avoid any thing that was not consistent with his own honor; and, if it was thought necessary, he would march to his camp. He wrote particularly, that he would lay aside all private resentment, when it appeared in opposition to the public good. But, in the midst of these protestations, he was watching for an opportunity to discover his courage and patriotism, by falling upon some part of Burgoyne's army.

“While the American army was thus assuming a more respectable appearance, General Burgoyne was making very slow advances towards Albany. From the twenty-eighth of July to the fifteenth of August, the British army was continually employed in

bringing forward batteaux, provisions and ammunition, from Fort George to the first navigable part of the Hudson River, a distance of not more than eighteen miles. The labor was excessive; the Europeans were but little acquainted with the methods of performing it to advantage, and the effect was in no degree equivalent to the expense of labor and time. With all the efforts that Burgoyne could make, encumbered with his artillery and baggage, his labors were inadequate to the purpose of supplying the army with provisions for its daily consumption, and the establishment of the necessary magazines. And after his utmost exertions for fifteen days, there were not above four days' provisions in the store, nor above ten batteaux in the Hudson.

“In such circumstances, the British General found that it would be impossible to procure sufficient supplies of provisions, by the way of Fort George, and determined to replenish his own magazines, at the expense of those of the Americans. Having received information that a large quantity of stores were laid up at Bennington, and guarded

only by the militia, he formed the design of surprising that place; and was made to believe that as soon as a detachment of the royal army should appear in that quarter, it would receive effectual assistance from a large body of loyalists, who only waited for the appearance of a support, and would, in that event, come forward and aid the royal cause. Full of these expectations, he detached Colonel Baume, a German officer, with a select body of troops, to surprise the place. His force consisted of five hundred regular troops, some Canadians, and more than one hundred Indians, with two light pieces of artillery. To facilitate their operations, and to be ready to take advantage of the success of the detachment, the royal army moved along the east bank of the Hudson river, and encamped nearly opposite to Saratoga; having at the same time thrown a bridge of rafts over the river, by which the army passed to that place. With a view to support Baume, if it should be found necessary, Lieutenant Colonel Brehman's corps, consisting of the Brunswick grenadiers, light



infantry, and chapeurs, was posted at Battenkill.

“ General Stark having received information that a party of Indians were at Cambridge, sent Lieutenant Colonel Gregg, on the 13th of August, with a party of two hundred men, to stop their progress. Towards night, he was informed by express that a large body of regulars was in the rear of the Indians, and advancing in the direction of Bennington. On receiving this intelligence, Stark drew together his brigade, and the militia that were at hand, and sent to Manchester to Colonel Warner, to bring on his regiment ; he sent expresses at the same time to the neighboring militia, to join him with the utmost speed. On the morning of the 14th, he marched with his troops ; and at the distance of seven miles, he met Gregg on the retreat, and the enemy within a mile of him. Stark drew up his troops in order of battle ; but the enemy coming in sight, halted upon a very advantageous piece of ground. Baume perceived that the Americans were too strong to be attacked with the present



force, and sent an express to Burgoyne, with an account of his situation, and to have Brehman march immediately to support him. In the meantime, small parties of the Americans kept up a skirmish with the enemy, killed and wounded thirty of them, with two of their Indian Chiefs, and without any loss to themselves.

“The ground the Americans had taken was unfavorable for a general action, and Stark retreated about a mile, and encamped. A council of war was held, and it was agreed to send two detachments upon the enemy's rear, while the rest of the troops should make an attack upon their front. The next day the weather was rainy, and, though it prevented a general action, there were frequent skirmishings, in small parties, which proved favorable and encouraging to the Americans. On the 16th day of August, in the morning, Stark was joined by Colonel Symonds, and a body of militia from Berkshire, and proceeded to attack the enemy, agreeably to the plan which had been concerted. Colonel Baume, in the meantime, had entrenched, on an advantageous piece of ground near St.

Koick's mills, on a branch of the Hoosick river; and rendered his post as strong as his circumstances and situation would admit. Colonel Nichols was detached with two hundred men to the rear of his left; and Colonel Herrick, with three hundred men, to the rear of his right; both were to join, and then make the attack. Colonels Hubbard and Stickney, with two hundred more, were ordered on the right; and one hundred men were advanced towards the front, to draw the attention of the enemy that way.

“About three o'clock in the afternoon, the troops had taken their situation, and were ready to commence the action. While Nichols and Herrick were bringing their troops together, the Indians were alarmed at the prospect, and pushed off between the corps; but they received a fire as they were passing, by which three of them were killed, and two wounded. Nichols began the attack, and was followed by all the other divisions; those in front immediately advanced, and in a few minutes the action became general. It lasted about two hours, and was like one continued peal of thunder. Baume

made a brave defence; and the German dragoons, after they had expended their ammunition, led by their colonel, charged with their swords, but they were soon overpowered. Their works were carried on all sides; their two pieces of cannon were taken; Colonel Baune himself was mortally wounded, and taken prisoner; and all his men, except a few who had escaped into the woods, were either killed or taken prisoners. Having completed the business, by taking the whole party, the militia began to disperse, and look out for plunder. But in a few minutes Stark received information that a large reinforcement of British troops, under Colonel Brehman, were on their march, and within two miles of him. Fortunately, at that moment, Colonel Warner came up with his regiment from Manchester. This brave and experienced officer commanded a regiment of continental troops, which had been raised in Vermont. Mortified that he had not been in the former engagement, he instantly led on his men against Brehman, and began the second engagement. Stark collected the militia as soon as possible, and pushed on to

his assistance. The action became general, and the battle continued obstinate on both sides, till sunset, when the Germans were forced to give way, and were pursued till dark. They left their two field pieces behind, and a considerable number were made prisoners. They retreated in the best manner they could, improving the advantages of the evening and night, to which alone their escape was ascribed."

In these two actions, the Americans took four brass field pieces, about one thousand muskets, which was a most seasonable supply to the militia, nine hundred swords, and four baggage wagons. Exclusive of Canadians and Indians, the British loss was upwards of seven hundred, in killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. The Americans lost one hundred, in killed and wounded.

"Stark was not a little pleased to have so fair an opportunity to vindicate his own conduct. He had now shown that no neglect from Congress had made him disaffected to the American cause, and that he had rendered a much more important service, than he could have done by joining Schuyler, and

remaining inactive in his camp. Congress embraced the opportunity to assign to him his rank, and though he had not given to them any account of his victory, or wrote to them at all upon the subject, on the fourth day of October, they resolved, 'that the thanks of Congress be presented to General Stark, of the New Hampshire militia, and the officers and troops under his command, for their brave and successful attack upon, and signal victory over the enemy, in their lines at Bennington; and that Brigadier Stark be appointed a brigadier general in the army of the United States.' And never were thanks more deserved, or more wisely given to a military officer."

In his account of the battle of Bennington, given to the authorities of New-Hampshire, Stark wrote as follows: "It lasted two hours—the hottest I ever saw in my life. It represented one continued clap of thunder; however, the enemy were obliged to give way, and leave their field-pieces, and all their baggage behind them. They were all environed within two breast works, with artillery; but our martial courage proved

too strong for them. I then gave orders to rally again, in order to secure the victory ; but in a few minutes was informed that there was a large reinforcement on their march, within two miles. Colonel Warner's regiment luckily coming up at the moment, renewed the attack, with fresh vigor. I pushed forward as many of the men as I could to their assistance ; the battle continued obstinate on both sides until after sunset ; the enemy was obliged to retreat. We pursued them till dark, and had day lasted an hour longer, should have taken the whole body of them."

"On what small events, does the popular humor and military success depend ? The capture of one thousand Germans by General Washington at Trenton, had served to wake up, and save the whole continent. The exploit of Stark at Bennington, operated with the same kind of influence, and produced a similar effect. This victory was the first event that had proved encouraging to the Americans in the northern department, since the time of the death of General Montgomery. Misfortune had succeeded misfortune,

and defeat had followed defeat, from that period till now. The present instance was the first, in which victory had quitted the royal standard, or seemed even to be wavering. She was now found with the American arms, and the effect seemed, in fact, to be greater than the cause. It raised the spirit of the country to an uncommon degree of animation; and by showing the militia what they could perform, rendered them willing and desirous to turn out, and try what fortunes would await their exertions. It had a still greater effect on the royal army. The British Generals were surprised to hear that an enemy, whom they had contemplated with no other feelings than those of contempt, should all at once wake up and discover so much of the spirit of heroism.

“To advance upon the mouth of cannon; to attack fortified lines; to carry strong entrenchments, were exploits which they supposed belonged exclusively to the armies of kings. To see a body of American militia, ill-dressed, but little disciplined, without cannon, armed only with farmers’ guns, without bayonets, and who had been accustomed

to fly at their approach, boldly force their entrenchments, capture their cannon, kill and make prisoners a large body of the regular army, was a matter of indignation, astonishment and surprise."

After the battle at Bennington, General Stark volunteered his services to General Gates, at Saratoga, and assisted at the capitulation of Burgoyne. He subsequently contributed in different situations and capacities, to further the great work of redeeming the colonies from the iron sway of Great Britain. At the close of the war, he confined himself entirely to the peaceful pursuits which had previously occupied his attention. For the last several years of his life, he enjoyed a pecuniary bounty from the government, which could not have been more justly merited. He was honored and respected by all who knew him, and lived a long and useful life. He died on the 8th day of May, 1822, at the advanced age of ninety-three years.



# JOHN SULLIVAN.

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*Birth-place.—Enters the Continental Army, and assigned to the Command of the Forces sent against Canada.—Appointed Major General.—Defeated and taken prisoner at the Battle of Long Island.—Exchanged.—His gallant conduct at the Battle of Germantown.—His operations against the British in Rhode Island.—Successful Expedition against the Indians in Pennsylvania.—Resigns his Commission in the Army and resumes the practice of his Profession.—Receives the degree of Doctor of Laws.—Elected Governor of New Hampshire.—Appointed United States District Judge.—His Death.*

GENERAL SULLIVAN was a native of New Hampshire, and a lawyer by profession. Previous to the revolution, he had attained a very respectable degree of eminence at the bar, and was a member of the first Congress, in 1774. At the commencement of hostilities, he signified his preference for a military,

over a civil life, and, on the 22d of June, 1775, was appointed a brigadier general in the army of the United States. He immediately joined the continental forces at Cambridge, and was assigned to the command of a detachment on Winter's Hill.

In the spring of 1776, General Sullivan was ordered to Canada. The command of the northern army was given to Major General Thomas, who arrived in the camp near Quebec on the 1st of May. He found the troops in such a wretched condition, that he determined to retreat toward Montreal. The army accordingly proceeded to Sorel and encamped there. About this time, it received several reinforcements, but General Thomas was taken sick with the prevailing disorder, the small pox, and died in a few days. By his death, General Sullivan succeeded to the command. Without accomplishing any military enterprise of moment, the American forces were compelled to retire, in consequence of the advance of the British army, which was vastly superior in numbers, and in condition.

On the 15th of June, General Arnold quit-

ted Montreal, with the men under his command, and after a union with Sullivan, conducted the army to Crown Point. Too much praise cannot be awarded to General Sullivan, for his unwearied exertions, and judicious management, in saving his little band, and the public property, from complete ruin. On his retiring from the command, the field officers addressed him in the following terms: "It is to you, sir, the public are indebted for the preservation of their property in Canada. It is to you we owe our safety thus far. Your humanity will call forth the silent tear, and the grateful ejaculation of the sick. Your universal impartiality will force the applause of the wearied soldier."

In August, 1776, General Sullivan was promoted to the rank of Major General, and was attached to the army on Long Island. After the unfortunate illness of General Greene, he succeeded to the command of the troops outside of the fortifications. Having but a short time previous arrived in camp, and being almost entirely unacquainted with the situation of the country, he was unable to complete the arrangements contemplated

by General Greene. On the landing of the British, he sent strong detachments to guard the passes near the Narrows, and on the Flatbush road; but the more distant pass, by the Bedford road, was merely guarded by an officer, with a small party, who discharged his duty in the most careless manner, and failed to give seasonable notice of the advance of the enemy. General Sullivan himself proceeded with a strong detachment, on the direct road from Flatbush to Brooklyn, and occupied the breastworks thrown up by General Greene, for the defence of this important pass. Shortly after daylight, on the 27th of August, the Hessians at Flatbush opened a moderate cannonade upon him. At half past eight, Count Donop was detached to attack the hill, by General De Heister, who soon followed with the centre of the army. The Americans calmly awaited the advance of the enemy, with their muskets levelled, fancying themselves in perfect security. Just as the attack was about to commence, a report of artillery was heard in their rear. The fearful truth at once flashed upon their minds, that the enemy had turned

their left flank, and placed them between two fires. Generals Clinton and Percy, with a large force, had proceeded by the Bedford road, and gained a position in their rear. In vain Sullivan exerted himself to rally his men for a desperate struggle. They instantly fell back, and attempted to cleave their way through the enemy, and regain their camp. For three hours, the conflict was continued by Sullivan, and his brave men, who fought like tigers, when they found there was no other chance for escape. Many forced their way through the lines; some escaped into the woods; and numbers were slain. On the side of the enemy the slaughter was immense. The Americans, who remained in the entrenchment, kept up an incessant fire on their opponents, until it was found that all further resistance was in vain. At eleven o'clock, General Sullivan surrendered himself, and his men, as prisoners of war.

After the battle on Long Island, General Sullivan was sent by Lord Howe, with a message to Congress, expressing a wish to hold a conference with some of the members. A

committee was appointed to meet his lordship, who informed him that Congress had no authority to treat for the colonies, except as independent states. As Lord Howe had no instructions on this point, the conference was soon brought to a close. On the 4th of September, General Sullivan was exchanged for General Prescott, and assumed the command of General Lee's division of the main army under General Washington, which he conducted in safety across the Delaware. He accompanied the commander-in-chief, in his attack on the Hessians at Trenton, and acquitted himself with high honor on that memorable day. He was also in Connecticut, at the time of General Tryon's invasion in April, and materially assisted Generals Wooster and Arnold in harrassing the enemy on their retreat. In August, 1777, General Sullivan, without the authority of Congress, or of the commander-in-chief, planned and executed an expedition against the enemy on Staten Island. The enterprise was successful only in part, and Sullivan's conduct was afterwards made the subject of review before a court of inquiry, which completely

exonerated him from all injurious imputations.

At the battle of the Brandywine, General Sullivan commanded the detachment sent to guard the fords above the forks. He occupied the heights above Birmingham church, his left extending to the creek, his artillery judiciously placed, and his right flank covered by woods. He was attacked by Lord Cornwallis, about four o'clock in the afternoon, and his men maintained their position for some time, with commendable bravery and intrepidity ; but they were at length obliged to give way before superior numbers, and the timely arrival of General Greene with a reinforcement, prevented a complete rout. In the affair at Germantown, Sullivan commanded the right division, and was constantly engaged, in the thickest of the fight, in urging his troops on to the attack. Two of his aids were killed near him, and his own gallantry was so conspicuous, that General Washington, in his official report, said : " In justice to the right wing of the army, whose conduct I had an opportunity of observing, as they acted immediately under my eye, I

have the greatest pleasure to inform you, that both the officers and men behaved with a degree of gallantry which did them the highest honor."

In August, 1778, General Sullivan assumed the command of the forces intended for the reduction of Rhode Island. Preparations had been in progress for several months, and, on his arrival, he made use of every means in his power to forward them. General Pigot, the commander of the British forces at Newport, in order to impede his operations, ordered two different incursions into Providence Plantation, in which a quantity of military and naval stores, some galleys and armed sloops, and upward of one hundred boats, prepared for the expedition, were destroyed. These losses so far delayed matters, that when Count D'Estaing arrived with the French fleet to co-operate with him, General Sullivan was not ready for the attack. The French admiral stationed some ships of war in the Seakonet and Narraganset entrances to the harbor of Newport, and closed the main channel by anchoring with his fleet at its mouth. In this position he remained un-



til the 8th of August, when the Americans were ready to commence offensive operations. He immediately sailed towards the harbor, and, after receiving and returning the fire of several batteries as he passed, he anchored between Newport and Conanicut. On the morning of the 9th, Lord Howe appeared off Point Judith with the whole English squadron, and Count D'Estaing soon after stood out to sea, with the intention of coming to an engagement. A violent storm arose which dispersed the fleets, and compelled the French vessels to return to Newport.

In the meantime, the British general, on finding himself seriously threatened, concentrated his force, amounting to about six thousand men, in the vicinity of Newport, where he occupied an entrenched camp. General Sullivan transported his troops, which numbered nearly ten thousand, chiefly militia, from the continent to the northeast end of the island, and, having taken possession of a fortified post which the British had abandoned, marched toward Newport to besiege the hostile camp at that place. On the 12th of August, before he had begun the

siege, his army was overtaken by the same furious storm of wind and rain which the French and English fleets had encountered. It blew down the tents, rendered the fire-arms unfit for immediate use, and seriously damaged the ammunition. The soldiers, being without shelter, suffered severely, and some of them perished in the storm, which lasted three days. After it had ceased, the army advanced toward the British lines, and began the siege. At this juncture, Count D'Estaing returned with his squadron, but, to the surprise of General Sullivan, he intimated his intention to repair immediately to Boston. General Greene and the Marquis De Lafayette waited on him, and remonstrated against his departure, but without effect. They then urged him to remain for two days only, which he also refused.

Having been abandoned by the French fleet, the American troops were sadly disheartened; and their numbers began to be rapidly thinned by desertion. The situation of General Sullivan was very precarious, as, without the assistance of a fleet, he could not prevent the landing of the reinforcements

which were daily expected from New-York. On the 26th of August, therefore, he concluded to abandon the siege; and after successfully resisting an attack of the enemy, he subsequently withdrew to the continent with his whole force, together with his artillery, baggage, stores and boats. His escape was a timely one; for Sir Henry Clinton arrived on the day after he left the island with four thousand men, who had been detained four days in the sound by contrary winds. General Sullivan was so much incensed at the failure of the expedition, that he used some pretty severe expressions, in a general order, which gave offence to D'Estaing. The French were highly exasperated, and it required all the address of Washington to prevent an open alienation from their new allies.

The horrid butcheries committed by the Tories and Indians, under Butler, Brandt, and Nellis, in the valley of Wyoming, during the summer of 1778, determined the commander-in-chief to employ a large detachment of the army for their chastisement and subjugation. After the battle of Monmouth, the fourth Pennsylvania regiment, with some of Mor-

gan's riflemen, commanded by Colonel William Butler, proceeded to the Indian towns of Unadilla and Anaquaqua, near the sources of the Susquehannah, and destroyed them, together with a large quantity of corn laid up for winter use. This was a difficult and fatiguing march, but the savages were driven to a greater distance from the frontier. In November, however, their atrocities were renewed, by an attack upon the settlement at Cherry valley, in which thirty-two of the inhabitants, chiefly women and children, were murdered and scalped.

In the spring of 1779 a strong body of troops were sent against the Indians. The largest division of the army employed on that service assembled at Wyoming. Another division, which had wintered on the Mohawk, marched under the orders of General James Clinton, and joined the main body at Tioga point, the confluence of the two great sources of the Susquehannah. On the 26th of August, the united force, amounting to nearly five thousand men, under the command of General Sullivan, proceeded up the west branch of the river,

which led directly into the Indian country. The Indians had become fully acquainted with the preparations for this expedition, and, notwithstanding the formidable array, determined to try the fortune of a battle with Sullivan. They were about one thousand strong, commanded by the two Butlers, Guy Johnson, McDonald, and Brandt. Having chosen a position above Chemung, and a mile in front of Newton, they fortified their camp, and prepared to meet the American army. There Sullivan attacked them; and, after a short, but spirited resistance, they fled with precipitation. The Americans lost thirty men, in killed and wounded; the Indians left only eleven dead bodies on the field; but they were so much discouraged by their defeat, that they abandoned their towns to the victor. At the head of lake Conesus they again rallied, and attacked the advance guard of the army, but they were soon obliged to continue their flight into the interior. The orders of General Sullivan were, to destroy their villages and crops, so as to render the country uninhabitable for

the present; accordingly, "eighteen villages, a number of detached buildings, one hundred and sixty thousand bushels of corn, and those fruits and vegetables which conduce to the comfort and subsistence of man, were utterly destroyed. Five weeks were unremittingly employed in this work of devastation."

On his return from this expedition, General Sullivan received the approbation of Congress, and at the close of the campaign, resigned his commission, in consequence of impaired health. He soon after resumed the practice of his profession, and became distinguished as a lawyer and politician. His taste for general literature was also cultivated with considerable success. He received from Harvard University the degree of Master of Arts, and from Dartmouth college, that of Doctor of Laws. He was a member of the convention which formed the constitution of New Hampshire; was chosen to the first council; and afterwards elected chief magistrate of the state, which office he held for three years. In 1789, he was

appointed Judge of the United States District Court for the district of New Hampshire, and continued in that office until the time of his death, which occurred in 1795.

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